

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

AESCHYLUS

PROMETHEUS  
BOUND

EDITED BY MARK GRIFFITH

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# INTRODUCTION

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## 1. THE MYTH

Fire is essential to civilization for warmth, cooking, and even the most rudimentary technology. In pre-industrial societies all over the world, myths have recounted mankind's acquisition of this divine spark through a theft from the gods, usually performed by a bird or animal, sometimes by a man, or even one of the gods themselves.<sup>1</sup> For the Greeks, it was the pre-Olympian god Prometheus who was generally credited with this theft.<sup>2</sup>

Both the Hesiodic poems give a prominent role to P. In the *Theogony*, almost a hundred lines are devoted to the story of P. and Zeus (521–616): how, in the sacrifice-feast at Mecone, P. tried to trick Zeus into choosing the worse portion of meat, so that mankind would get the better; whereupon Zeus, in rage, retaliated against mankind by withholding fire;<sup>3</sup> P. stole fire and gave it to mortals, but Zeus in turn penalized them by creating woman (570ff.), and punished P. by having him bound to a column, with an eagle eating his liver; eventually Heracles was allowed to win himself glory by killing the eagle (526–32); it remains ambiguous whether or not P. was actually released.<sup>4</sup> The story is designed mainly to illustrate Zeus' supreme intelligence, and the futility of any attempt to outwit him (613 ὥς οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν): it is followed by the Titanomachy (617–720), demonstrating Zeus' irresistible might.

1. J. G. Frazer, *Myths of the origin of fire* (London 1930), and *Appendix* to Loeb ed. of Apollodorus (pp. 326–50). In the Indic *Rig-Veda* (3.9.5), a god (Mātarisvan) produced Agni, the fire-spirit, by rubbing, and then brought him down to earth.

2. The actual invention of fire was ascribed to Hermes (together with the institution of sacrifice, *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 108–37), or to Hephaestus (*Harpocr.* s.v. λαμπάς). At Argos, the hero Phoroneus was credited with man's acquisition (*Paus.* 2.19.5).

3. Whether he *withdrew* it, or *refrained* from bestowing it, is left unclear (563 οὐκ ἐδίδου; cf. *WD* 50–2).

4. 528 ἐλύσατο δυσφροσυνάων, 533 καίθη χόλου, imply release; but 533 χωόμενος, and especially 614–16, indicate otherwise (έρύκει, present). See n. on *P. Lycomenos* frs. IX–XIV.



In the *Works and Days* (42–89), Hesiod introduces P. (and Pandora) by way of explanation for the hardness and misery of human existence: Zeus is punishing us for P.'s theft of fire; otherwise life would be easy and trouble-free. In both poems P.'s fore-thought<sup>5</sup> and cleverness are of a short-sighted and petty kind, no match for Zeus' wisdom; and P.'s misguided efforts on behalf of mankind result instead in pain for them and for himself.

Hesiod does not explain *why* P. wishes to benefit mankind: it is simply taken for granted that he has a special relationship with them. (So P. appears elsewhere as creator of the human race, and as father of Deucalion, our common ancestor and re-creator.)<sup>6</sup> But his relationship with the other gods, in literature and cult, seems to be more variable and enigmatic. Hesiod makes him a son of Kronos' brother, Iapetus, i.e. Zeus' cousin; but he is treated more like one of the previous generation of Titans, and he never appears to be really at home with the Olympians. He is frequently associated with Hephaestus and Athena, fellow workers with fire;<sup>7</sup> but, outside Hesiod's poems, P. seems to have been a minor figure and to have played little part in the religious life of archaic and classical Greece.<sup>8</sup> Athens was an exception: here he was patron-deity of

5. The derivation of Προμηθεύς, προμηθής (Doric Προμᾶθευς; in Attica, P. was also called Πρόμηθος) from προ + μητ/μανθ- ('plan, know') was accepted by the Greeks without question (hence Ἐπιμηθεύς, 'afterthought'; cf. *Prom.* 85–6, 506nn.). It has been called into question by some modern scholars, who prefer an origin in e.g. Sanskrit *pramantha* ('firestick') or *Pramatih* (? 'forethinker', an epithet of Agni; see above, p. 1 n.1); or in Πραμανθεύς (epithet of Zeus, Lycophr. 537 with Tzetzes' n.). But it is probably correct; see V. Schmidt, *Ζ.Ρ.Ε.* 19 (1975) 183–90, who compares λανθάνω/λήθη (Doric λᾶθα). The προ- element denotes primarily 'before' (temporal); but at times the sense 'on behalf of' may be present too (LSJ s.v. πρό A 13).

6. Creation of mankind out of mud is mentioned at Plato, *Prot.* 320d, Aristoph. *Birds* 686; woman is so created (by Hephaestus) at Hes. *Th.* 571–2, *WD* 60ff. P. is not explicitly attested as creator before Heraclides (fourth century B.C.); but the tradition is presumably much older, even pre-Hesiodic: P. is after all a potter. (At Epicharm. fr. 122 Deucalion creates men from stones.) See further Kraus, *RE* s.v. 696–7.

7. P. assisted at the birth of Athena (Eur. *Ion* 454ff., Apollod. 1.3.6). The cults of Hephaestus and P. were combined at Athens (Paus. 1.30.2, schol. Soph. *OC* 56 = *FGH* 244 F 147).

8. At Lucian, *Prom.* 14, P. complains that he has no temple in Greece. There was a cult of P. at Opus (Paus. 2.19.8), and perhaps at Panopeus (Paus. 10.4.4) and Argos (2.19.8); cf. too *Demeter Kabeiraia* at Thebes (9.25.5–10).

potters, and was honoured, like Hephaestus and Athena, with his own festival and torch-race, the *Promethia*.<sup>9</sup>

Between Hesiod and the fifth century there is almost no trace of P. in literature.<sup>10</sup> He reappears as co-hero of Epicharmus' Sicilian comedy, *Pyrrha*, or *Prometheus* (frs. 114–22 Kaibel, cf. P. Oxy. 2427. 1–3).<sup>11</sup> Then Aeschylus in 472 B.C. produced his *P. Pyrkaeus*, dramatizing P.'s gift of fire to a Chorus of exuberant satyrs.<sup>12</sup> There is little here, any more than in Hesiod's sly rascal of Mecone, to prepare us for a tragedy on the scale of *Prom*.

The only other major literary figure of the fifth century who appears to have given a serious role to P. is Protagoras. In Plato, *Prot.* 320c–323a, the old sophist tells a creation myth, to explain how it is that all men share a certain basic modicum of virtue: 'Once upon a time (ἤν γάρ ποτε χρόνος ὅτε...)', Epimetheus and P. were entrusted by the gods with creation of all living things. Epimetheus went ahead and gave different attributes to the different species to ensure their survival (μή τι γένος ἀιστώθειν, cf. *Prom.* 232–3n.); but by the time he came to mankind, he

9. Harpocr. s.v. λαμπάς, schol. Aristoph. *Frogs* 131, ps.Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.4, *IG* 1<sup>2</sup>.84 and 1138. The festival included choral competitions. (See too How and Wells on Hdt. 8.98.2.)

10. Only passing reference in Ibycus (*PMG* 342) and Sappho (207 LP = Servius on Virg. *Ecl.* 6.42); personified προμήθεια is mother of τύχη at Alcman, *PMG* 64. In art, on the other hand, representations of P.'s torment by the eagle, and/or his release by Heracles, are common in the archaic period: see Bapp 3086–93 with illustrations, L. Eckhardt, *RE* xxiii.1 (1957) s.v. 'Prometheus' 704–14, *ABV* 6.14, 7δ, 97.28–30, 104.124. P. is generally shown sitting, with hands tied and his back to a pillar or stake (cf. Hes. *Th.* 522: in some representations he looks rather as if he is impaled on it; see 26n.). In fifth-century Athens it is P. the Firebringer who is popular (see *ARV* Index s.v. 'Prometheus', and n. 12 below): only two red-figure vases represent him in any other role; one (*ARV* 1269.6) shows him with white hair and leaning on a stick, in the company of Athena and Leda (and perhaps Peitho); the other, by Douris, (*ARV* 438.133 = Bapp 3086 fig. 1) has him talking to the seated Hera.

11. See further Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC* 265–8 (with T. B. L. Webster's speculations on P. Oxy. 2427 frs. 1 and 27; he suggests a date after 469 B.C., following *Prom.*).

12. Aesch. frs. 205–7 N, 278 L–J, = 453–7, 342–50 M; see below, App. p. 281. Several vase-paintings from the last third of the fifth century apparently illustrate this play (or another satyric P. play produced c. 430 B.C.?); see J. Beazley, *A. J. A.* 43 (1939) 618ff., 44 (1940) 212, F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele* (2nd ed., Berlin 1959) 48–9 with nos. 9, 187–99.

had no attributes left. So P. had to help him out, by stealing fire from the gods and giving it, together with the skill to use it (*ἐντεχνος σοφία*), to mankind, who thence learned other arts of civilization; thus they were able to survive – up to a point: but, since they still lacked the social virtues, men could not organize themselves into groups for self-protection against wild beasts, until Zeus finally sent Hermes to give them *αἰδώς* and *δίκη*, so that cities could be founded and truly civilized life could begin. It is likely that Plato has modelled this speech on Protagoras' treatise *περὶ τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως*: but we have no way of knowing how closely he has reproduced it (even, for example, whether P. played any part in it, or whether he is Plato's addition, to give 'mythical' colouring, cf. 321c *μῦθον λέγων ἐπιδείξω*). In any case, there are some signs that the poet of *Prom.* has been influenced by this, or a similar, account of man's technical and cultural progress (7–8, 254, 450–506nn.), as he has set about his transformation of P. into a true tragic hero and champion of the human race.

## 2. THE PLOT

*Synopsis:* Zeus' agents bring P. in, and chain him to a rock, explaining that this is his punishment for giving fire to mortals (1–87). After a monologue of complaint from P. (88–127), a Chorus of Ocean-nymphs arrive, and P. informs them about the recent Titanomachy and his subsequent assistance of mankind against Zeus' will (128–283). Suddenly Ocean appears, offering to intercede with Zeus on P.'s behalf, if P. will moderate his behaviour; P. rejects his offer with scorn, and he retires (284–396). P. enumerates to the Chorus all his benefactions to mankind (397–525). The mortal Io rushes in, half in the form of a cow and pursued by a stinging fly; she describes her miseries as the result of Zeus' passion for her; then P. tells her about the rest of her sufferings, past and future, about her descendant, Heracles, who will eventually release P., and about the fatal marriage which Zeus may one day make, unless P. intervenes to warn him (561–886). After Io departs, P. repeats his predictions of Zeus' imminent downfall, first to the Chorus (907–43), and then to Hermes, who has been sent by Zeus to extract from P. the details of this fatal marriage; although Hermes predicts increased torments for him, P. refuses to divulge the secret, and is plunged into the depths amidst a raging storm (944–1093).

In constructing this plot, the author has drawn heavily on the Hesiodic poems. But the transformation of Hesiod's morality tale into a drama of tragic tone and proportions has involved a bold process of selection, adaptation, and innovation. P.'s Hesiodic father, Iapetus, has been omitted, as have his disreputable brothers, Menoetius and Epimetheus (but the mighty Atlas is prominent, 347-50, 425-30; cf. App. p. 284), and P. is now himself a Titan, son of Earth (variously called here Ge and Themis, cf. 18, 209-10, 351-2, 874, 1091, with nn.), i.e. he is uncle rather than cousin of Zeus.<sup>13</sup> Omitted too is any mention of the trickery at Mecone, the original cause of Zeus' anger according to Hesiod, or of the creation of woman (Pandora).<sup>14</sup>

Along with P.'s new parentage come two major innovations, both involving P.'s knowledge of the future. First, the dramatist has transferred to P. the role performed by Ge in Hesiod's Titanomachy, that of providing the crucial advice which enabled Zeus and the Olympians to defeat the Titans (199-221, with 219-21n.; cf. too 439-40n.). Secondly, P. is now endowed with a further piece of knowledge upon which the survival of Zeus' rule depends. The origin of this motif may lie in Hesiod's account of Zeus' marriage with Metis, and the birth of Athena, in which Ge again provided vital advice (*Th.* 886-900); but the more immediate source appears to be Pind. *I.* 8. 27ff. (cf. 768, 924-5nn.),<sup>15</sup> where Themis saves Zeus and Poseidon from trying to marry Thetis, by telling them of the prophecy that Thetis will bear a son mightier than his father (so the gods marry her off to Peleus).<sup>16</sup> In combining this motif with the story of P., the author of *Prom.* has added a

13. No father of P. is mentioned (18-20n.). Uranus is father of the other Titans (164-5, 205, cf. *P. Lyomenos* fr. viii.2), as in Hesiod; but, just as P. is not actually called 'Titan' in this play (as he is at Soph. *OC* 56, Eur. *Ion* 455, *Pho.* 1122), so too he is distinguished from the others by the emphasis on his relationship to Ge-Themis - even the unusual identification of the two figures as one contributes to this (204-6, 209-10nn.). In Hesiod, Themis is herself one of the twelve Titans (*Th.* 135). See further Pohlenz, *Erl.* 30ff.

14. P. is also given an unHesiodic wife, Hesione, though she appears to be of no importance to the drama (558-60n.). On the possibility that Mecone and/or Pandora were treated in *P. Pyrphoros*, see App. pp. 282-5, esp. dub. fr. iv.

15. It is possible that both Pindar and *Prom.* are drawing from a common source (e.g. a lost epic; see A. von Mess, *Rh.M.* 56 (1901) 167-74); but cf. Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 118-20.

16. Thetis often shows up in early Greek literature with extraordinary powers (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.396-406, 6.135-7, 18.394-405; see further L. Slatkin, *Thetis, Achilles, and the Iliad* (diss. Harvard 1979).

new dimension to the struggle between P. and Zeus: indeed, P.'s foreknowledge becomes the key to the resolution of the whole drama.

Throughout the play, the Hesiodic account of Zeus' rise to power and his conflict with P. should be in the back of our minds, as it undoubtedly was for the Athenian audience.<sup>17</sup> We are constantly kept aware of the contrast between Hesiod's petty trickster and thief, who brought miseries on mankind by competing with Zeus, and this Titan, who has helped to bring Zeus to power, has rescued mankind from a destruction planned by Zeus (231–6),<sup>18</sup> and now knows the secret which can save or destroy Zeus himself.

But apart from these modifications of the familiar elements of the P. myth, the dramatist has also given a most unexpected twist to the story by introducing Io, who belongs to an entirely separate tradition (561–886n.). Nothing in earlier Greek literature or art has prepared us for her presence in this play; but in the course of a long scene (occupying almost one-third of the play), the playwright manages to develop subtle and effective connections between the figures of Io and P., and skilfully to exploit the possibilities and uncertainties of their futures.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. THE CHARACTERS

For a drama set at the end of the earth (2n.), near the beginning of time, and representing such a stupendous conflict of the gods, the playwright's choice of characters was somewhat restricted. The two main characters in his plot are P. and Zeus: but Zeus can hardly be brought

17. Further Hesiodic elements (some with altered significance) include: the role of Kratos and Bia (1–87n.); the concealment of fire in the fennel stalk (109–10n.); P.'s responsibility for the presence, or absence, of Hope among men (250n.); Zeus' treatment of the defeated Titans (219–21n., cf. fr. v n.); the fates of Atlas (347–50n.) and Typhos (351–72n.). Of course, we should bear in mind that Hesiod himself doubtless shaped his versions of the P. myth for his own purposes (above all, to glorify Zeus): there may well have been a more sympathetic role for P. in the pre-Hesiodic tradition, and this tradition may have survived in various local forms even after Hesiod's poems had become the 'authorized versions'. But evidence is almost totally lacking.

18. The motive and means of this destruction are left unspecified: they may perhaps have been derived from the Hesiodic *Catalogue* (fr. 204 M–W, cf. 232–3n.).

19. See further p. 12 and 561–886n.



on stage himself.<sup>20</sup> Instead, his agents, Kratos and Bia, appear at the beginning of the play, and Hermes towards the end, their ugly manners and ruthless treatment of P. well designed to reflect the character of their young master (1-87, 941-1093nn.). For the Zeus of this play turns out to be a very different figure from the just and impressive ruler of Hesiod's universe. He is described as a harsh and selfish despot (35, 322-4, 941-2nn.), who rules by force rather than law (150-1, 404-5nn.), angrily crushes all opposition without mercy (29, 79-80, 82, 163-5, 184-5, etc.; cf. too 663-72), suppresses freedom of speech (49-50, 178-80nn.), mistrusts and mistreats his supporters (224-5, 304-6, 439-40nn.), threatens the annihilation of the human race (232-3n.), and wrecks the life of the innocent Io through his lust (737-40; cf. 561-886n.). In sum, he displays all the traditional characteristics of the 'bad tyrant' (10, 736-7nn.).<sup>21</sup> Of course, many of the details of this picture of Zeus are provided by his enemy, P., or by his uncomprehending victim, Io: but the more neutral characters, Hephaestus, the Chorus, Ocean, say nothing to change our opinion (cf. 34-5, 150-1, 322-4, 402-5, 552, 759, and 669-82n.); nor do Kratos or Hermes, Zeus' whole-hearted supporters (cf. 49-50, 77; 952, 968-9, 1074-9). Yet the reasons behind Zeus' harsh and arbitrary behaviour are clearly presented, and provide clues that a change for the better is not out of the question. Once again, comparison with Hesiod's account is enlightening. The *Theogony* presented Zeus' rise to power as the culmination of an inevitable progression from chaos to order, from the elemental wildness of Uranus, through the savagery of Kronos and the Titans, to the settled rule of the Olympians.<sup>22</sup> *Prom.* shows us a regime that has only just fought its way to

20. It is possible that Zeus appeared in Aesch. *Psychostasia*, or in Soph. *Inachus*; but see *contra* the arguments of Taplin 431-3. It is not uncommon for an absent figure more or less to dominate a tragedy: thus e.g. Agamemnon in Aesch. *Ag.* is present for less than one-eighth, Xerxes in *Pers.* less than one-fifth, of the play; Heracles only appears after more than half of Soph. *Tr.* has passed.

21. See especially Hdt. 3.80.5; further Thomson, (ed.) 6-10 and *C.R.* 43 (1929) 3-5, Grossmann 19-24, Podlecki (1) 103ff.; also Herington (transl.) 11-12. Attempts to push the parallels further, and see Zeus as allegorically representing Hieron of Syracuse (E. G. Harman; cf. G. Méautis, *L'authenticité du Prom.* (Neuchâtel 1960) 46-7), or Xerxes (G. Baglio), or even Pericles (J. A. Davison, *T.A.P.A.* 80 (1949) 66-93, and further *Ancient Society and Inst.* (Studies ... Ehrenberg, ed. E. Badian) 93-107) are unconvincing.

22. Solmsen 3-75.



power, and still sees itself threatened by forces which may topple it in turn (165-6, 357, 520, 755-6nn., cf. 764, 907ff., 956-7).<sup>23</sup> We are constantly reminded that Zeus is young, and his government newly established (35, 309-10nn.); and, although there is no sign of his relenting in this play – indeed his treatment of P. grows even harsher (1014ff.) – we are told that he will somehow be reconciled with P. in the end (192, 771nn.).<sup>24</sup> So too, his present oppression of Io will be offset, at least in part, by the peace and honour which she will attain through union with him in the future (848-51, cf. 648-9, 654, 833-5nn.).

Against this unseen, but all-seeing and ever-threatening Zeus, the dramatist has pitted a hero of unusual stature.<sup>25</sup> Hesiod's P. was a crafty, grinning rogue (*Th.* 511, 546-7, *WD* 55; cf. *Prom.* 18n.), 'foresighted' enough to warn Epimetheus never to accept any gift from Zeus (*WD* 86-8), but no real threat to Zeus, whose intelligence (cf. esp. *Th.* 550-1, 613, *WD* 83) and power are immeasurably superior. In *Prom.*, P.'s knowledge and cleverness appear to rival or excel Zeus'. Without P., Zeus would not have known how to defeat the Titans (199-221), and without his advice in the future, he will fall from his throne.<sup>26</sup> P.'s prophetic powers are constantly emphasized (cf. 101-5, 209-21, 522-5, 589-95, 755-75, 873-4, 913-15), and Zeus is well aware of his need of them (947ff.). P. may be criticized for his 'mistakes' (8-9, 999-

23. J. A. K. Thomson, *H. S. C. P.* 31 (1920) 1-37 points out that many of the attributes necessary for a successor to Zeus are contained in such figures as Dionysus (especially among the Orphics) and Heracles.

24. It is almost certain that, if *P. Desmotes* was part of a trilogy, Zeus appeared in a different light in one or both of the other plays. The fragments of *P. Lyomenos* offer evidence that his anger at the Titans abated, and his rule became more gentle (frs. v, xvi nn.). Whether his character matured with the ages, or (more likely, from what we know of Greek attitudes) his assessment of the political climate had by then changed enough to admit compromise and liberality, we cannot judge. (See below, p. 33 n.105).

25. The scholiast to *Prom.* 74 believed this literally; some modern scholars too have assumed that P. was indeed represented on stage by a huge puppet, behind which one of the two speaking actors took his position between 81 and 88 (so e.g. Hermann, C. Robert, *Hermes* 31 (1896) 561ff., Unterberger 32); but see Taplin 243-5, and below, p. 31 n.95.

26. It is true that P.'s prophetic knowledge is shared by his mother, Ge-Themis, who theoretically could intervene of her own accord to save Zeus; but there is no hint of this in *Prom.* (For her possible appearance in *P. Lyomenos*, see App. fr. IIIa n.).

1000nn.), for his lack of foresight in bringing disaster on himself (62, 85-6, 1033-5nn.), and for his inability to 'cure' his own troubles (239-41, 335, 469-71, 472-5, 978nn.): but he himself insists that he knew just what he was doing, if not the precise details of his punishment (265-70, cf. 101-5). So too, there is no disputing the fact that his skills have saved mankind from extinction, given them Hope (250n.), and put them on the road to civilization (436-525, 456-8, 496-9, 500-3nn.): as 'discoverer' and 'teacher' (110-11, 254, 450-506, 456-8, 477nn.), he has turned his Hesiodic cleverness to practical and constructive ends – including even instruction in *μαντική* and sacrifice (484-90nn.). The archaic fire-demon and Attic potter-god has been transformed into a culture-hero on the grandest scale, an enemy to give Zeus pause.

By rescuing the human race and giving them fire, P. has offended against the Olympian order. In the eyes of his fellow gods, he is a shameless 'mortal-lover',<sup>27</sup> whose assistance of mankind has detracted from their own prestige (7-8, 30, 82-3, 945-6). Yet, to a human audience, this 'wrong' (8-9n.) is morally defensible, even praiseworthy, as the action of a compassionate and generous spirit (cf. 10-11, 446, 543-4nn., and 406-24, 547-51, 613-14). His crime against established authority may be compared to that of Sophocles' Antigone. Like Antigone too – and other Sophoclean heroes – P. aggravates his opponents' rage through his self-assertiveness and obvious contempt for them. P. is frequently censured by friends and foes alike for his 'high thoughts' (18n.), his 'free tongue' (178-80, 318-19nn.), his 'rough' and 'sharp' temper (29, 35, 64-5, 79-80, 311-12, 937, 944-6nn.), and his obstinate refusal to compromise or moderate his behaviour (176, 309-10, 320, 1040-53nn.): in a word, for his *αὐθαδία* (64-5n.). Still he revels in his stubborn and dangerous defiance (971, cf. 436-7). Like Sophocles' Ajax or Philoctetes, he has kept his pride intact amidst pain and humiliation, and finds solace in the anticipation of his enemies' downfall. And like them, he arouses in his friends, as in the audience, mixed emotions of revulsion and sympathy, horror and admiration (e.g. 162, 178-80, 251, 260, and 307-29, 472-5, 932-6nn., and esp. the Chorus' last words, 1063-70).

27. *φιλάνθρωπος* in the mouth of the gods has perhaps some of the same derogatory force that 'nigger-lover' has for some white racists; but obviously the term is loaded too with inescapably positive connotations (30, 611nn.). See further S. Tromp de Ruiter, *Mnem.* 59 (1932) 271-306.

As the play progresses, P.'s mood grows more belligerent. Early on, his reproaches and veiled prophecies are interspersed with lamentation for his own miseries, and the prophecies mostly refer to his eventual release and reconciliation with Zeus (i.e. to what will, in fact, happen in *P. Lyomenos*), with only occasional mention of the possibility of Zeus' downfall. Later, the predictions become more strident and bold: they are outright threats, exaggerated to the point of self-contradiction (103-5, 755-6, 959nn.). The play begins with Zeus and P. already violently opposed: by the end, this opposition – and violence – has swelled to a climax of threats and counter-threats, as Zeus moves heaven, earth, and sea (1043-52, 1080-8) in his efforts to break P.'s spirit.

For the personalities of Zeus and P. have much in common.<sup>28</sup> Both are 'harsh', 'bold', 'unbending', full of rage and pride; the same epithets are applied to both (35, 42, 64-5, 79-80, 404-5, 907-8nn.). The one relies mainly on his physical power (*Kratos kai Bia*, cf. 1-87, 10, 150-1, 736-7nn.), the other on his cunning and foresight (514n.).<sup>29</sup> Cosmic order requires that the two be combined. But now they are in conflict, and both parties have some claim to being in the right (30, 978, 999-1000, 1041-2, 1093nn.). Zeus, as legitimate ruler, is defending his constitution against a traitor (10-11, 231-6, 975-6) who has shared divine privileges with men. Yet P., his former ally, has done no more than champion the weak against a seemingly arbitrary attempt to annihilate them: if mankind has any claim to fair treatment from the gods, his theft of fire was justified by the circumstances.

Of the remaining characters of the play, Hephaestus, the smith, was an obvious choice for the shackling of P. Less obvious, but dramatically most effective, was his portrayal as a sympathetic and sensitive foil to the heartless *Kratos* (cf. 1-87, 7-8, 12-35, 36-87nn.). The other visitors to P.'s remote prison comprise a strange assortment, and in each case their arrival comes as a surprise to P. and to the audience (298-9, 561-5nn.).

The Chorus of water-nymphs are not much involved with the main action of the play;<sup>30</sup> But this lack of involvement is put to good effect,

28. Podlecki (2) 287-92.

29. Detienne and Vernant (1978) 58-61, G. Nagy, *The best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 45-9; but cf. too Conacher 8-10, with refinements and reservations.

30. See too below, pp. 22-3, 29.

since they provide a suitably ignorant and inquisitive audience for the narrations of P. and Io, and their neutral stance and gentle manner tend to draw the spectators into sharing their emotions and attitudes (128-92, 397-435, 526-60, 1063-70nn.). In dialogue, although they are frequently the only interlocutors for P. (193-283, 436-525, 907-40), they restrict themselves to short questions, expressions of sympathy, and occasional mild criticism (259-62, 472-5, 932, 936, 1036-9), all marked by a certain formalism and restraint (193-6n.).<sup>31</sup> In their short and uncomplicated lyrics, they give freer vent to their emotions (128-92, 397-435, 526-60, 687-95, 887-907nn.); indeed, their pity and horror for the sufferings of P. and Io, and fear for themselves (526-60, 687ff., 894ff.), reveal a tenderness and vulnerability more human than divine. In the closing anapaestic scene, however, they show an unexpected streak of courage, as they angrily reject Hermes' threats and announce their intention of standing loyally by P. (1063-70, with n.).

Less easy to explain is the choice of Ocean as intercessor on P.'s behalf. His connection with P. is left rather vague (284-396, 331nn.), and nothing is made of his relationship to the Chorus (284-396n.). But as one of the few members of the old, pre-Olympian order to have escaped rough treatment at Zeus' hands, he provides an interesting contrast to P.; indeed, in his case too, his very lack of involvement in the conflict is essential to his role, and his cautious and ineffectual diplomacy is set against P.'s strident self-assertion rather as Sophocles' Ismene is contrasted with Antigone, or Chrysothemis with Electra. Such 'warning' figures are commonly employed for a tragic effect of foreshadowing, as their prudent advice is summarily rejected by the hero. If the warner's advice turns out to be mistaken, it serves as a foil to the greater wisdom or courage of the hero (so e.g. Ismene and Chrysothemis; or Hecuba, Helen, and Andromache in Hom. *Il.* 6). More often, the warner is correct, and the audience enjoys the irony of seeing the hero discard or misunderstand the advice which might have saved him (so e.g. Phoenix to Achilles in Hom. *Il.* 9, Solon, Artabanus, or Demaratus in Herodotus, the Servant to Hippolytus in Eur. *Hipp.*, the Soothsayer in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*). Ocean contains elements of both kinds. He

31. Aeschylus tends to involve his choruses more thoroughly in the dialogue; cf. Griffith 130-4.

is closer to the first, insofar as P. is more aware than he of the true state of affairs and of the likely future consequences; but his warnings come true nonetheless (312–13n., cf. App. fr. VIII. 27–8n.) and his criticisms of P.'s behaviour are well-founded.<sup>32</sup>

As for Io, the dramatist's most unexpected addition to the cast, her character is well designed to complement the two dominant personalities of the play. As a helpless victim of Zeus, facing a long series of sufferings before eventual 'release from troubles' and union with him, she shares many qualities with P. (561–608, 654, 752–6, 1085–6nn.; cf. 191–2); but, unlike P., she has no real power to affect the outcome of events. Neither her initial rejection of Zeus' advances, nor her final acceptance, is represented as a true decision on her part: she does what is expected of her, in obedience, first to her father (645–57, 663–72), later to Zeus (848–9). Her confused physical and mental ramblings (567, 598nn.) vividly bring home to us the unreasonable and arbitrary extremes of Zeus' passions: yet her future reconciliation with him, together with the glory and comfort that she will thereby receive, suggestively prefigure the resolution of P.'s own conflict in the more distant future. Io's mobility, ignorance, and mortality all make an effective contrast with Zeus' more self-assertive male adversary; and P. finds her an ideal and sympathetic audience for his complaints and predictions (561–886n.). The spectators likewise will find it hard not to feel pity and shock at Zeus' treatment of apparently innocent mortals, and their sympathy for P.'s resistance may grow stronger. The bond of friendship which is established between P., Io, and the Chorus affords a touching, though fragile, sense of community in a play which otherwise emphasizes the lonely struggles of individuals (611, 631–4nn.).

#### 4. STRUCTURE AND DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

The structure of *Prom.* is in several respects peculiar. The play is short, and P. himself present on stage throughout, yet it lacks the organic unity

32. See further, on this type of 'warning character', J. M. Redfield, *Nature and culture in the Iliad* (Chicago 1975) 143–54, discussing the role of Polydamas: e.g. (p. 146) 'Pol. is right, and Hector is wrong, but we are on Hector's side. Pol. after all does not have some alternate plan . . . ; he can only advise caution. He is not himself an actor; he is merely a counselor.' In the case of Ocean and P., it is not so easy to judge who is right or wrong, but some of the same kind of antithesis applies. Cf. too R. Lattimore, *C.P.* 34 (1939) 24–35.

characteristic of most Attic tragedies. In Aristotelian terms, it is a 'simple' drama: i.e. it contains no *peripeteia* (reversal) or *anagnōrisis* (recognition);<sup>33</sup> P. learns nothing new during the play (his increased sufferings differ only in degree, not in kind, from those that preceded), and the conflict between him and Zeus remains unresolved. From one Episode to the next, the action develops steadily in the same direction, the tension mounting towards its climax in the Hermes scene, without producing a real *lysis* (resolution).<sup>34</sup> Nor has P.'s tragic choice or decision (whether to defy Zeus or reveal the secret) been made into the central dramatic focus of the play: rather, the circumstances, and the personalities of Zeus and P., are so presented that the decision has already been taken before the play begins, and we merely witness the unsuccessful attempts of others to soften P.'s resolve.<sup>35</sup> Thus the play is full of *pathos* (pity, fear, anticipation); but for reversal and resolution we must look outside the play, perhaps to its sequel.

'The formal structure of Greek tragedy is founded on a basic pattern: enter actor(s) – actors' dialogue – exeunt actor(s) / choral strophic song / enter new actor(s) – actors' dialogue ... and so on' (Taplin 55). But *Prom.* does not fit this pattern. Entrances occur in irregular places (284–396n., 941), and do *not* occur when we expect them (87, 193–6, 436–525, 907–40nn.). The Ocean scene and Io scene exist in a curious isolation from their surroundings: nothing that precedes prepares us for them, and nothing in the scenes that follow refers back to them.<sup>36</sup>

Nor do the characters chosen by the dramatist for this play for the most part have any strong intrinsic connections with one another,<sup>37</sup> such

33. *Poet.* 10.1452a–11.1452b.

34. *Poet.* 15.1454a 37–68, 18.1455b 24ff.

35. The pattern of the plot is thus a little like that of a suppliant play: various characters enter and try to persuade the powerful central figure to help them; towards the end of the play the threatening consequences of his decision become more evident. But there is no point at which P. is shown seriously in doubt as to which course he should pursue: this seems to be reserved for *P. Lyomenos* (e.g. frs. VIII.23, xv).

36. The Fourth Choral Song (887ff.) does discuss Io's fate, in the light of the preceding scene; and Hermes' arrival is due to Zeus' having overheard one or more of P.'s predictions. But it remains true that no mention is made in dialogue of Ocean or Io after their departure.

37. The Chorus turn out to be sisters-in-law to P.; but little is made of this; and, although they are Ocean's daughters, they and he take no notice of each other at all (284–396n.). See further Griffith 134–6.



that the plot would naturally move forward through their interaction. Indeed, there is little forward movement between the departure of Kratos (87) and the arrival of Hermes (940). Each scene is almost self-contained, with P. conversing in turn with himself (88–127), with the Chorus (128–283, and again 436–525, 907–40), with Ocean (284–396), and with Io (561–886). Never do more than two actors engage in dialogue.<sup>38</sup> Thus, powerful though the dramatic conception is, the play threatens to lose cohesion and fall apart into disconnected episodes, strung around the immobile P. This threat is averted to some degree<sup>39</sup> by three techniques which help to unify the plot and to link the characters more closely together: (i) the motif of  $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ ; (ii) the technique of piecemeal revelation of the future; (iii) the recurrence of key words, phrases, and images.

(i) The best tragic plots, according to Aristotle, involve violence, actual or threatened, among  $\phi\iota\lambda\omega\iota$ .<sup>40</sup> In *Prom.*, although the cosmic and political aspects of the conflict are the most striking,<sup>41</sup> we also find a *domestic* tragedy of some complexity. Zeus' divine victims are close relatives of P. (Atlas, Typhos, Kronos and the Titans are his brothers or half-brothers, 347, 351, 410; cf. 39n.); the human victim, Io, is ancestress (through Zeus' touch) of P.'s future liberator (772, 871–3) – who will be Zeus' own son (cf. fr. x with n.). The links do not stop there. Hephaestus, who nails P. to his rock, is perhaps P.'s nephew, certainly his former work-

38. On the implications for number of actors and date, see below p. 31 n.95. It is notable too that only in the Io scene do the Chorus participate freely in the actor-dialogue (Griffith 130–5).

39. Many critics have found the play structurally deficient, perhaps including Aristotle (*Poet.* 17.1456a 2–4, but the text is corrupt); e.g. T. Tyrwhitt (ed. *Ar. Poet.*, 1794, 129), G. F. Else, *Ar. Poet. The argument* (Harvard 1957) 326–7, 526–30, Schmid 5–28, Taplin 240ff., 460ff. *Contra*, see Unterberger *passim*, esp. 12–21, Conacher 146ff.

40. *Poet.* 14.1453b 20–22.

41. 'Cosmic' motifs include: conflict between old and new (152, 35, 232–3nn.), and between gods and men (10–11, 82, 83–4nn.); the threat of earth-born monsters (351–2n.); the prospect of a new regime to succeed Zeus'; the vast distances, remote localities, and wild weather repeatedly described (2, 1091–3nn., and above, p. 6). 'Political' motifs: Zeus as 'tyrant' (above, p. 7; cf. 167–9n.); *stasis* and loyalty (199–200, 216–18, 304–6nn.); 'free speech' (180n.); savagery and civilization (456–8, 506nn.); cf. too App. fr. xviii., Grossmann 15–225.

mate (14n.). Ocean is P.'s half-brother and father-in-law (289, 296–7nn.), the Chorus his sisters-in-law (128–31n.). Io is the Chorus' niece (636). By all the Olympians, Zeus is conventionally regarded as 'father' (4–5, 39nn.; in Hermes' case, this is literally true). Zeus' own father is now languishing in Tartarus and has bitterly cursed his son (910–12). The divine family is violently split, young against old, victors against vanquished.<sup>42</sup>

Of course, *φιλία* embraces socio-political ties as well as familial: like Latin *amicitia*, it may denote connection and obligation rather than positive affection (cf. 192n.). But both senses contribute to P.'s feelings of outrage at Zeus' mistreatment of him (described as *αἰκεία*, *ὑβρις*, *κτλ.*, cf. 93n., and 82n., 970), for he and his brothers have been expelled and humiliated by an upstart young nephew who owes his throne to P.'s friendly efforts and has now forgotten all the loyalty that is due (224–7n.).

While the gods are naturally *φίλοι*, one to another, both by birth and by association, mortals are a race apart. Though they may occasionally arouse divine approval or lust, and even bear children to gods, human beings are separated from them by an unbridgeable social gulf. To the Olympian ruling family, a god who has stolen from them to give to mortals is an unnatural and despicable traitor (12–35, 82nn.), who deserves to be punished like the lowest criminal (4–5, 26nn.). Yet P. is not ashamed of his *φιλανθρωπία* (e.g. 123, 506, 612), even though his mortal *φίλοι* can offer him little comfort and no practical assistance (83–5, 406ff., 546–52, 613–14). Here lies the heart of the problem: in honouring mortals as his chosen *φίλοι* (cf. 543–4, 611nn.), P. has alienated his natural *φίλοι*, who regard the maintenance of the aristocratic hierarchy as their prime duty; and this hierarchy is itself still recovering from the violent dissension of a dynastic war, and is neither strong nor settled enough as yet to bend or compromise. Blind – and silent – obedience to Zeus the father is their motto (40–1, 53, 67–8, 311–16, 327–9, 964–5), though the timid but loyal Ocean-nymphs finally rise above it (1068–70n.).

42. See 152, 219–21nn. But the young Hephaestus continues to feel for the older P. (7–8, 14nn.). P. himself, with his primeval mother, has transferred his allegiance to the 'new party' of Zeus (216–18). In Hes. *Th.*, much attention is devoted to older gods who wisely cooperated with Zeus (Hecate, Styx – and her children, Kratos and Bia).

(ii) The second technique by which the dramatist has tied together his assorted characters and potentially episodic plot, is through gradual revelation of the future. Every scene, except for the Prologue and the Ocean scene,<sup>43</sup> is built around a prophecy of some kind from P. Towards the end of the Parodos, P. predicts that Zeus will need P.'s help (168–71) and will be compelled to seek reconciliation (188–92);<sup>44</sup> the matter is briefly raised again at the end of the ensuing dialogue (256–9), where P.'s release is said to depend on Zeus (cf. 256–8n.); and much more emphatically at the end of the Second Episode, where the possibility of Zeus' downfall is openly discussed (507–25n.). In the Io scene, the central stichomythia unexpectedly combines the triple themes of Zeus' fall, P.'s release, and Io's respite from pain (757–79). The predictions have by now become confusing and apparently contradictory: P. will not be released until Zeus falls (755–6); and Zeus will fall (757–68) – unless P. is first released and warns him (769–70); yet it is not Zeus, but a descendant of Io, who will release P., apparently against Zeus' will (771–4, cf. 871–3). Throughout the final scenes, the imminence of Zeus' fall is asserted by P. without reservation (907–40, 955–9), and the possibility of his own release sounds remote (989–91, 1002–6). As the play ends, Hermes' predictions of increased torments for P. (1014–29) begin to be realized (1080ff.), but P. remains defiant and unmoved. The prospect of mutually eager reconciliation (190–2) has faded from view.

Not only are P.'s predictions themselves at times enigmatic or contradictory, (despite his insistence on their brevity and clarity, 609–12n., 816–18; cf. 170, 256–8, 742–81, 771, 907–40, 959nn.), but they are presented in a peculiar, piecemeal fashion. We are constantly being prepared for a revelation about the future, only to have it postponed or denied. The Io scene, with its frequent interruptions and shifts back and forth between past and future, is the most extreme case (561–886nn.). But a similar technique is employed throughout the play. Thus after 271–83, we expect to learn how P. will be released (cf. 259–60); instead, Ocean arrives, and we have to wait until 508ff. before the topic is reintroduced – and then immediately dropped again (520) until 755ff.

43. There is an unconscious reference at 27 (see n.); and Ocean's warning at 311–14 is prophetic.

44. This seems in fact to be an accurate forecast of the action of *P. Lyomenos* (see esp. frs. xv and xvi with nn.).

(cf. 263–76, 283, 507–25nn.). This piecemeal revelation serves both to link scenes that have otherwise little connection, and to arouse a growing sense of anticipation and uncertainty about the future.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout the play, a tension is maintained between the *inevitability* of certain future events (Heracles' birth, P.'s release, reconciliation between P. and Zeus) and the *possibility* of the unexpected – which may contradict these 'inevitable' events (increased or eternal sufferings for P.; the overthrow of Zeus). The audience are thus kept uncertain as to how the plot will unfold, though they naturally tend to assume that predictions made in a tragedy will turn out to be true – especially if they are made by the son of Themis. And P. himself, although he knows the future, still hopes, fears, and makes plans as if he can change it, or at least affect it. (We may compare e.g. Hector and Achilles in *Il.* 6.447ff. ~ 18.305ff.; 1.414ff. ~ 9.410ff., or the effect of the conflicting versions of the prophecy about Philoctetes and his bow, in Soph. *Ph.*).

Oracles and prophecies (and likewise e.g. dreams, and curses, cf. 910–12n.) are often employed in epic and tragedy for such effects of suspense and foreshadowing. After the audience have been informed, or reminded, of the goal towards which the action is moving, they enjoy watching the curious process whereby the characters, of their own free choice, inevitably arrive at this goal. The technique, one form of dramatic irony,<sup>46</sup> is based on the principle of 'double-' or 'over-determination':<sup>47</sup> the action is seen on two levels, as being brought about *both* by external powers, ('necessity'), *and* by the freely acting participants of the drama. Usually the characters themselves act in ignorance of the goal which playwright and audience have in mind for them (or their knowledge is pitifully incomplete, as in the case of Oedipus). P., like the Homeric Achilles and Hector, is unusual in that he shares this knowledge of the future, even though he seems at times almost to forget it.

The external powers which in Greek tragedy are generally found determining the outcome in this way are the gods,<sup>48</sup> and above all Zeus,

45. Unterberger *passim*, Conacher 62–8.

46. N. Frye, *Anatomy of criticism* (Princeton 1957) 208–10, 216–21; W. C. Booth, *A rhetoric of irony* (Chicago 1974).

47. Dodds 1–31.

48. In later tragedy, this role is often given to 'society' or 'history': see N. Frye (above, n.46) 284–5, R. Williams, *Modern tragedy* (London 1966).

their king. But in this play the main characters are themselves divine, and even Zeus is personally engaged in the conflict. So the external, overriding forces to which reference is made tend to be more remote and vague: *χρή/χρεών* (772n.), *μοῖρα* (511–12n.), *πέπρωται/τὸ πεπρωμένον* (511–12n.), *κραίνεται* (211), *ἀνάγκη* (515n.). Only at one point in the play does the question arise, who controls the ‘necessity’ to which even Zeus is subject (514–19)? The answer there given is, ‘the *Moirai* and the *Erinyes*’. Clearly it would be a mistake to seek a systematic theology in this response: but it is essential to remember that powers above and beyond the Olympians are felt to be shaping events in ways that only P. can describe.<sup>49</sup>

The early scenes of the play suggest that Zeus is master of Necessity, insofar as he is applying *ἀνάγκαι* to P. (105, 108, etc.), and is himself subject to no external pressures or controls (49–50, 149ff., 186–7, 324, 403; cf. 165). But P. has already cast doubts on this as early as 170–7, 188–92; then (211–13) we learn that ‘it was ordained’ (*κραινοίτο*) that the Titanomachy ‘must’ (*χρεῖν*) be won by cunning, for which Zeus required P.’s help (219–23). At 511ff., P. knows that it is ‘not yet ordained’ for him to be released, though he has stated already that Zeus will have need of him, and has implied that he will be released (169–77, 190–2). He knows what ‘must’ happen in the future (99–105), yet the details remain vague (256–8n.); and, as so often in tragedy, overall responsibility for the general workings of the universe, and the particular workings of the play, cannot be laid on any single person or power.

P.’s piecemeal, partial, and at times contradictory revelations of the future give us a preview of the overall shape of the drama,<sup>50</sup> i.e. they give

49. In Homer, the relationship between ‘Fate’ (*μοῖρα, αἶσα, κῆρ, τὸ πεπρωμένον, κτλ.*) and the gods is left undetermined. (Contrast e.g. *Il.* 19.86–7, where Zeus, Moira, and Erinyes act in concert, with *Il.* 16. 431ff., where Zeus contemplates saving Sarpedon even though he is *πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἶσῃ*; see further H. Lloyd-Jones, *The justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1971) 3–6, with n.19.) In the sixth and fifth centuries, we find more fixed, and conflicting, views on Zeus’ power. On the one side, e.g. Pind. *Paeon* 6.94 ‘Zeus, the overseer of the gods, does not dare to overthrow what is fated (*μόρσιμα*)’ and Hdt. 1.91 ‘It is impossible even for a god to escape fate (*τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν*)’; on the other, e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 100–4 ‘Everything of the gods is effortless; from where he (i.e. Zeus) sits, he carries out his will . . .’, or Xenophanes B 25 DK.

50. And probably of the whole trilogy: see Appendix pp. 281–3, and Unterberger 12–21.

us clues as to the playwright's intentions. For, in a sense, μοῖρα, τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἀνάγκη, κτλ. represent *what we* (poet and audience in different degrees) *know must happen*, whether Zeus and P. like it or not. We know it 'must' happen because the plot (and in some cases the myth itself) has to go a certain way.<sup>51</sup> The characters may be more, or less, aware of this dramatic logic, and more, or less, inquisitive as to the nature of the powers which are shaping their lives. In this play, P. is unusually aware, and his interlocutors unusually inquisitive – but his statements to them are not quite consistent, and thus the tension between the inevitable and the possible, between the known and the anticipated, is maintained.

(iii) A third source of unity for the play lies in the use of certain key words, phrases, and images which recur from scene to scene and thus sustain particular themes of central importance to the play.<sup>52</sup> The key words and phrases of *Prom.* fall into the following main groups:

- (a) terms for 'pain, misery' etc. (mostly applied to P. and Io, cf. 561–608n.), e.g. ἄλγος (fr. v n.), αἰκεία (93n.), πημονή, λύπη, νόσος (224–5, 249, 596nn.), τάλας/ταλαιπώρος, πλάνη, δεσμός, πρὸς βίαν κτλ.; and especially 'release from troubles' (ἀπαλλαγή, τέρμα μόχθων, κτλ., cf. 98–100, 316, 755–6nn.).
- (b) terms for 'skill, teaching, aiding', etc. (mostly used of P.'s help to mortals, but also for one character's advice or help to another, cf. 322–4, 609–12, 631–4, 777–8nn.): τέχνη, πόρος, μηχανή (59, 456–8, 477nn.), σόφισμα (62n.), ὠφέλημα (251n.), δωρεά, γέρας, (ἐξ-)εὐρίσκω, (ἐκ-)διδάσκω, (ἐκ-)μανθάνω, κτλ.
- (c) terms for the 'sharing of suffering, sympathy', etc., particularly compounds with συν-, by which the community of fellow-feeling for P. is emphasized (162n.).
- (d) terms for the intransigent attitudes shared by Zeus and P., e.g. αὐθάδης, τραχύς, θρασύς, χόλος, ὀργή, ὕβρις.<sup>53</sup>
- (e) terms for 'looking', 'visiting' etc. (mainly used of those who come to

51. Cf. such expressions as ὑπὲρ μοῖραν, ὑπὲρ αἰσῶν in Homer, for contexts in which events threaten to turn out contrary to tradition, e.g. *Il.* 2.155, 20.30.

52. See in general O. Hiltbrunner, *Wiederholungs- und Motivechnik bei Aisch.* (Bern 1950), Dumortier (1) and (2), Mielke *passim*, Fowler 173–84, Schinkel (esp. 136–7, 140, 154), Petrounias 97–126. For further, less pointed, repetitions, see below, p. 34 n.107.

53. See above, pp. 7–10.



see P. in his chains, but also e.g. of Io's travels): (εἰς-)ὄρω, δέχομαι, θέαμα, θεωρός (69n.).

The imagery of *Prom.* is generally less rich and bold than that of many Greek (esp. Aeschylean) tragedies,<sup>54</sup> just as the style in which it is conveyed is less dense and complicated;<sup>55</sup> but those images which are employed contribute significantly to the overall coherence and meaning of the play on all its different levels. Harsh, dehumanizing terms of domination and faction characterize the political nature of this confrontation of new and old orders (with the lower class of disenfranchised mortals helplessly looking on); terms of shared suffering, and of disease and cure, underscore the more personal and domestic aspects of the play; and, from first to last (2, 1091–3nn.), geographical and elemental details emphasize the vast extent and cosmic scale of the conflict.

The main recurrent images of the play are those of *disease and cure*, and of the *capture, taming, and harnessing of animals*.

Disease is a natural and common metaphor for all sorts of affliction and disturbance, not least among the Greeks (133–4n.).<sup>56</sup> In this play, we find not only the physical sufferings of P., Io, and the human race, called a 'sickness' (249, 478ff., 596, 606, 632, 698; cf. 146, 566, and 563, 682nn.), but also Zeus' love for Io (590–1, 596nn.), P.'s defiance, and Zeus' tyrannical behaviour described in medical language (νόσος/νόσῳ, 224–5, 249, 378–80, 977–8; even of Ocean, 384–5; also, of false friends, 685–6, 1069; and possibly of an earthquake, 924; cf. 100 1015, 1008–10). The 'cure' that is suggested in several of these contexts is that of 'soothing words' (378, 632–9, 683–6, 698–9; cf. 632, 473–5nn., and 43, 172–3); but it is made clear that the time has not yet come for the sickness to be completely remedied (379–80, 522–5,

54. A. Lebeck, *The Oresteia* (Harvard 1971) *passim*, W. G. Thalmann, *Dramatic art in Aesch. 's Seven* (Yale 1978) 31–81, Earp 93–149, esp. 107–10; also R. F. Goheen, *The imagery of Soph. Ant.* (Princeton 1951), Garvie 64–72.

55. See below, p. 33. *Prom.* is also relatively sparing with mixed metaphors (682, 690–2, 883–4, 1052nn.); cf. Silk *passim* esp. 237–8, Stanford (2) 94ff. Judgement on the character of *Prom.*'s images has remained rather subjective: so e.g. Stanford, Earp, Petrounias find them quite Aeschylean, Schmid, Herington (29–30), Müller less so. But even within Aeschylus' extant work, there is considerable variation between the extreme density and complexity of the *Oresteia* (esp. *Ag.*), and the relative simplicity of *Pers.*

56. Fowler 174–81, Schinkel 154, Petrounias 98–108. In Aeschylus, disease imagery is widespread, but usually expressed in more varied and vivid terms; see Schmid 58–9, Dumortier (1) *passim*, Sansone 67–78.

1008–10). Meanwhile, for many years to come, P., the 'sick doctor who cannot cure himself', and Zeus, whose 'raw and feverish' tyranny is not yet 'ripe' for treatment (473–5, 378–80), must continue to suffer their physical and mental anguish.

The physical binding of P., and the violent pursuit of the cow-formed Io from land to land, both naturally invite comparison with the harnessing or driving of horses and oxen; and these images are developed in more purely metaphorical ways too (5, 52, 61, 71, 108, 176, 323, 562, 578, 601, 618, 666, 672, 682, 883, 931, 1009–10, 1052; cf. 5, 108, 1009–10nn.). The effect for the most part is to emphasize, on the one hand, the harshness and authoritarianism of Zeus' rule<sup>57</sup> (especially since the 'yoke' of necessity, etc., is commonly used also of human slavery and oppression, cf. 108, 515nn.), and, on the other, the pain and humiliation endured by P. and Io. (But Ocean and Hermes both suggest that P. would do better to accept the bit and the goad quietly, 322–3, 1009–10.) The related images of hunting and snaring (72–3, 263?, 571–3, 857–9, 1072, 1078–9), and of birds or animals 'cowering' before their captors (29, 174, 857, 960) have a similar effect (1078–9n.).

As in so many Greek poems, a number of images from seafaring also occur.<sup>58</sup> Some of them are fairly colourless (84, 183, 375; cf. 72, 73nn.; n.b. too the literal 467–8); but the 'storm' of sufferings endured by P. and by Io (563, 643, 838, 885–6, 1015–16) links up effectively with the violence of the elements to which they are both actually being subjected, (P. lashed to his rock and buffeted by wind, rain, etc.; Io driven off course to all corners of the world; cf. 15, 26, 158–9, 563, 707ff., 807–9nn.); and the image of Zeus as 'steersman' of the political-cosmic ship (147–9, 526–7, with nn.) is significant insofar as it suggests a greater degree of purpose and direction to his actions than we hear of elsewhere – but at 515–18 we are reminded that another 'steersman' exercises control even over Zeus.

## 5. STYLE AND METRE

For a play as static in its plot as *Prom.*, the selection and alternation of the three basic metres (iambic, anapaestic, lyric) were particularly

57. Similar imagery is put in the mouth of Creon in Soph. *Ant.*; see Goheen (above, n. 54).

58. D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aisch.* (Groningen 1963), A. Lesky, *Thalatta* (Vienna 1947), Mielke 55–62.

important for providing variation of mood and tone. P. hangs before us, immobile, from start to finish, his face masked, his hands unable to gesture. In the opening and closing scenes the bustle of activity is reflected in switches of metre (88–192, 907–1093); but for long stretches during the rest of the play, P. converses in iambics with a single interlocutor, and the danger of monotony is greater. The playwright, perhaps for this reason, has incorporated an unusual range of variation in metrical structure, beyond the customary strophic lyrics from the Chorus. He has two characters enter with anapaests (284–97, 561–5), and one of them depart the same way (877–86; cf. too 1040–93n.); he gives to Io an elaborate lyric monody (566–608; cf. n.) and to the Chorus an extra lyric outburst to punctuate the long Io scene (687–95); and he has an actor engage in epirrhematic exchange with the Chorus (128–92). Thus the play presents a greater variety of textures and paces than is normal for e.g. Aeschylean drama;<sup>59</sup> yet at the same time the variations are clearly defined and regular, in contrast to the freedom and flexibility of later Euripides.<sup>60</sup>

It is in the choral odes of tragedy that we usually find the greatest range of moods, metres, and even subject-matter. Here the poet is free to let his Chorus react, pray, speculate, complain, narrate, dream, etc. almost at will: the metre can vary constantly, the diction and syntax may be stretched well beyond the normal limits of dialogue. The choral odes of *Prom.*, however, are relatively short and limited in their scope and emotional range. The frequent addresses to P. (144n.) emphasize the Chorus' sympathy, and the odes effectively convey the pity, not only of the Oceanids, but of the mortal world (160–3, 406–35, cf. 545–51) and even of the elements themselves (431–5, cf. 88–92, 1091–3); they powerfully reinforce the sense of shock and outrage aroused by the Io scene (687–95, 887–907); and in every ode we are reminded of the terrifying threat of Zeus' anger – or even of his love (692–5, 887–907). But seldom in these odes are larger questions raised, or opinions offered, about the nature of Zeus' rule and the prospects of his downfall, about the propriety, or otherwise, of P.'s generosity to mortals, about the hope

59. W. Nestle, *Die Struktur des Eingangs* (Tüb. Beitr. 10, 1930) 108–20, W. Kranz, *Stasimon* (Berlin 1933) 226–8, Griffith 103–36, Conacher 146–9.

60. See 88–127, 128–92, 561–608, 1040–93nn., and further Jens, *Bauformen* 25–7, 128, 246–9, 279–80, 293–7, 313–20.

of reconciliation between P. and Zeus. Those questions and opinions that *are* voiced (183–5, 543–51) merely repeat themes and viewpoints from the preceding dialogue.<sup>61</sup> Thus the Chorus, even in their songs, maintain their timid and passive character.

The metres of the choral odes are likewise for the most part homogeneous and restrained:<sup>62</sup> only the short astrophic passages (mixed dochmiacs and iambics at 687ff., heavily resolved iambics at 901ff.) suggest a less controlled, and hence more disturbing mood. It is instead in the actors' songs (114–18, 566–608) that we find the greatest emotional intensity, reflected in a greater freedom and variety in the metres (cf. 114–19, 566–73, 574–608nn.), exclamations of fear and pain (114–15, 566, 567, 576, 579, 598, 602), and frequent questions and prayers.<sup>63</sup>

Anapaests are employed extensively in *Prom.*, especially to accompany, or prepare for, movement on and off stage: 284–97, 561–5 (Ocean's and Io's arrivals), 127–92 (Chorus' arrival, though the anapaests are P.'s); 877–86, 1040–93 (actors' and Chorus' departure; cf. too 277–83n., Chorus' departure?). They are also used to convey P.'s changing moods and to vary the tempo at 93–100, 120–7 (88–127n.). Anapaests, like iambics, and unlike lyrics, are rhythmically regular and predictable. They proceed in a steady 'marching' progression,  $\cup\cup - \cup\cup - | \cup\cup - \cup\cup - | \dots$  (with frequent substitution of long for two shorts and vice versa; thus  $\surd \cup\cup \surd - | \surd \cup\cup \surd - | \dots$ ). Each metron is normally separated from the next by word-division (diaeresis); but, unlike iambic trimeters, anapaests have no regular 'pause' (period- or line-end); instead they run on indefinitely in a continuous stream (*synapheia*) until period-end is marked by a paroemiac ( $\cup\cup - \cup\cup - | \cup\cup - - ||$ , i.e. anapaestic dimeter catalectic; so e.g. 144, 159, 177, etc.). Some of the anapaestic periods in *Prom.* run on

61. The contrast with the introspective and speculative complexities and ambiguities of so many Aeschylean odes is obvious. The choral lyrics of *Prom.* are often compared to those of early Euripides (Schmid 40, Kranz, *Stasimon* 226–8, J. Rode in Jens, *Bauformen* 108–9) in their style and dramatic function.

62. See nn. on individual odes, and further Griffith 61–7. The similarities of metre between 127ff./397ff., 526ff./886ff. are especially close.

63. But *Prom.* lacks the extensive, and intensive, use of elements of ritual and prayer that is characteristic of Aeschylean choruses; see R. Hölzle, *Zum Aufbau der lyrischen Partien des Aisch.* (diss. Freiburg 1934), Griffith 206–7 with n. 74, Schinkel 105–16.

for as many as twenty or more metra (167ff. twenty; 284ff. twenty-five; 1040ff. twenty-six).<sup>64</sup>

When combined with long rhetorical periods, such runs of anapaests are effective for building and sustaining a single mood: so at 136–44, we find one rhetorical period (elaborate address 136–40, twin imperatives *δέρχθητ' ἐσίδεσθε*, followed by indirect question, 141–4, with delayed final verb *ὀχήσω*) occupying the whole metrical period of thirteen metra plus paroemiac; and at 1040–53, the single rhetorical period of 1043–52 builds through the long series of clauses (*ῥιπτέσθω μὲν . . .*) up to the defiant (implied) *δέ* clause of the paroemiac (1053 *πάντως ἐμέ γ' οὐ θανατώσει*). Effective too are the cumulative lists of symptoms at 877–86, 1082–90. Elsewhere, anapaests are found with much the same emotional force as iambic trimeters, though perhaps they may convey a slightly greater sense of urgency (877–86, 1040–93nn.).<sup>65</sup>

Distinctive features of *Prom.*'s anapaests are their rather 'spondaic' nature (i.e. high proportion of long syllables to double-shorts);<sup>66</sup> the confinement of period-end to the end of speeches (i.e. no paroemiacs used as paragraphing devices within a speech, as usually in drama; cf. App. fr. v.8 n.);<sup>67</sup> the admission of overlap of more than one short syllable between metra, breaking the normal diaeresis (172–5, 293, 295nn., also fr. vi.4 n.).<sup>68</sup>

Spoken dialogue occupies almost three-quarters of *Prom.*, a proportion markedly higher than Aeschylus', but typical of Sophocles and Euripides.<sup>69</sup> The metre of tragic dialogue is the iambic trimeter,<sup>70</sup> the diction and style 'high' and dignified: to the clarity and neatness inherited from the earlier iambographers (Archilochus, Semonides,

64. In Aeschylus, anapaestic periods rarely exceed fifteen metra; Euripides occasionally reaches forty or fifty (Griffith 71–2).

65. *Prom.* contains no 'lyric' anapaests (*Klaganapäste*, or 'lamenting anapaests'), which are distinguished by their Doric α for η, a predominance of spondees (and sometimes unusual resolutions and extra paroemiacs; cf. Dale 50–2). But the high rate of spondaic metra in 93ff., 136ff., plus exclamations of pain and misery, lend something of the same air.

66. Griffith 68–70.

67. Griffith 71–2, Herington, *A.J.P.* 100 (1979) 420.

68. Griffith 70–1.

69. Griffith 123–6, Conacher 146–9.

70. The trochaic tetrameter is also employed from time to time in a few plays, but not in *Prom.* See T. Drew-Bear, *A.J.P.* 89 (1968) 385–405.

Solon, etc.) are added a certain epic magniloquence and force.<sup>71</sup> Tone and pace can vary, from the elaborate circumlocutions, weighty compounds, and bold images of Aeschylean rhesis, to the pointed antitheses and quick argument of Euripidean stichomythia; but nowhere in tragedy does dialogue approach the conversational realism of Old Comedy or Plato. In *Prom.*, the trimeter is generally heavier and statelier than in Euripides or most of Sophocles; yet it is rather more flexible, and the style much more straightforward and clear, than Aeschylus'.<sup>72</sup>

The basic scheme of the trimeter consists of three metra, followed by pause: x — u — | x — u — | x — u — ||. There is almost invariably *caesura* within the second metron, either at position 5 (x — u — x : — u — x — u —, 'penthemimeral'), or at 7 (x — u — x — u : — x — u —, 'hepthemimeral'), or both.<sup>73</sup> *Resolution* (sc. of a long syllable<sup>74</sup> into two shorts) is theoretically admissible at all points of the line except the final long; but in practice, much the most common position is the third long (position 6, as e.g. 2, 18, 54, 210, etc.; cf. 18n.). Less common, but not unusual, is resolution at positions 2 or 8 (as 76, 116, 213, 273, 666, 680, 730, 809; but cf. 729–30n.). Resolution of the second long (position 4, as 715) is rarer; that of the fifth (position 10, as 52; cf. 707n.) is quite unusual.

In general, the treatment of the trimeter in *Prom.* is orthodox, similar to that of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and early Euripides. The poet is sparing with resolution (4.8% of *Prom.*'s trimeters contain a resolution, a rate similar to the other tragedians, though in later Euripides the rate rises steeply).<sup>75</sup> But he is exceptionally free with one licence otherwise largely

71. For the practice of the iambographers, see Schein 5–16. On the 'Homeric' nature of tragic rhesis, see G. F. Else, *The origin and early form of Greek tragedy* (Harvard 1965) 39–50, 72–7, A. Sideras, *Aesch. Homericus* (Göttingen 1971).

72. See too below, pp. 33–5.

73. The origin and precise function of these caesurae are not fully understood; cf. Allen 114–20.

74. I retain the confusing, but traditional, terms, 'long' and 'short', though 'heavy' and 'light' are in some respects preferable as descriptions of *syllables* ('long' and 'short' for *vowels*); cf. Allen 46ff.

75. J. Descroix, *Le trimètre iambique* (Macon 1931) 110ff., E. B. Ceadel, *C.Q.* 35 (1941) 66–89, C. Prato, *Ricerche sul trimetro dei tragici greci* (*Studi di metrica classica* 6, 1975). The prosody of *Prom.* is likewise unremarkable for the most part, apart from the peculiar licence of twice counting short vowel before initial *ϕ* as a short syllable (712–13, 992nn.). In the treatment of 'weak position' (a short vowel



confined to Comedy and late Euripides, the 'resolution' of the initial *anceps* into two shorts:<sup>76</sup> this occurs thirteen times in *Prom.* (6, 64, 89, 353, 366, 368, 721, 722, 796, 805, 811, 849, 994).<sup>77</sup> Over 99% of *Prom.*'s trimeters contain penthemimeral and/or hephthemimeral caesura.<sup>78</sup> Of the remainder, one has no true caesura at all (589; perhaps quasi-lyric?), two (612, 710) have so-called 'false' caesurae (word-division plus elision at mid-line, i.e. 'position 6'), and five more have this mid-line break without elision (6, 17, 113, 621, 640). This splitting of the line into exactly equal parts disrupts the normal rhythmic pattern, and can lend effective weight to a pause or interruption in the dialogue (cf. 17, 113, 612, 621); sometimes a line with a normal caesura will also have a strong break at mid-line, with some of the same effect (472, 500, 976).<sup>79</sup>

About 60% of *Prom.*'s trimeters are end-stopped, a rate slightly lower

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(continued)

followed by mute + liquid, which *may*, but need not, 'make position', i.e. make the syllable long; cf. 968n., Maas §124), the poet's practice is orthodox: there are eighteen occurrences of lengthening in weak position (24, 263, 358, 366, 368, 492, 659, 803, 968, 969, 1016; 91, 644; 32, 67, 795; 5, 459; cf. too 582n.); and only twice does he allow a vowel in weak position to count short in resolution (2, 762; cf. 2, 680nn., Griffith 80-1).

76. This phenomenon is still often called 'first-foot anapaest', from the days when the trimeter was analysed (like the Latin *senarius*, cf. fr. VIII with n.) into six 'feet' of 'iambs', 'spondees', 'tribrachs', etc.

77. Only one of these is due to a proper name (805), where licences are always much greater. In Aeschylus, discounting proper names, only thirteen instances are found in six plays; cf. Griffith 77-8. In *Prom.*, a noticeably high proportion of these, and other, resolutions, occur in the narrative passages of 707-35, 790-869 (714-15n.), which have something of the character of messenger speeches, and, like these, may reflect some of the dactylic rhythms of epic.

78. Descroix (above, p. 25 n.75) 24off., Schein 69, 71.

79. Maas §103, with further references. A quirk of the author of *Prom.* is his fondness for a definite article or possessive adjective following the penthemimeral caesura, and agreeing (and thus rhyming) with a noun at the end of the line (fourteen examples: 28, 66, 220, 228, 272, 466, 615, 628, 679, 850, 916, 944, 1004, 1014); the second section of the line is thus neatly bound together. As for the treatment of word-division in the third metron, *Prom.* observes 'Porson's Bridge' without exception: i.e. word-end is avoided after position 9, if the *anceps* there is long. This is regularly true of tragic trimeters (R. Porson, ed. *Eur. Hæ.* (London 1797) on l. 347, and *Suppl.* (1802) p. xxxii, Maas §48). The twelve lines which might at first sight appear to breach the Bridge (107, 313, 345, 648, 747, 760, 763, 872, 915, 933, 956, 1027) all contain pre- or post-positive words which in fact 'bridge' the division (cf. 629, 747-8, 821, 986-8nn.).

than Aeschylus', similar to Sophocles' and Euripides'.<sup>80</sup> When stops are made within the line, they naturally tend to occur at one of the two main caesurae (e.g. 101, 103; 23, 107); the next most common place in most tragedies is after the first long ('position 2', as e.g. 34, 244; cf. too 98on.), but *Prom.* is unusual in its large number of stops after the first metron ('position 4'; cf. 41-2n.). Enjambement occurs in about 9% of *Prom.*'s trimeters, mostly in narrative passages (cf. 298-306, 647-54).<sup>81</sup> 'Sophoclean' enjambement, i.e. the technique of placing at the end of a line a word (or two) which allows no pause and belongs strictly to what follows, is remarkably frequent<sup>82</sup> (twenty-four instances, twelve preceded by strong punctuation: 43, 61, 83, 104, 259, 264, 323, 328, 341, 377, 384, 463, 470, 683, 725, 743, 793, 830, 865, 918, 951, 961, 989, 1033). Often it is used as preparation for a *gnome* (43n.).

Although the trimeter is not intrinsically as varied and expressive as the multifarious lyric metres, or even the anapaests, there is room for subtle differences of mood and pace: the poet may choose between longer and shorter periods, between end-stops and enjambement, between more and less resolution, etc. (Thus we may contrast, e.g. the urgency of 259-66, or 340-6, with the more flowing periods that follow, 267-73, 347-72; cf. too 298-306, 647-54, 829-41nn.) So too, the number of words to a line may range from eight or nine (e.g. 67, 388, 987),<sup>83</sup> to three or four. (There are six three-word trimeters in *Prom.*, an

80. Griffith 98-100. A curious, perhaps significant, detail: *Prom.* seems to differ from other Greek tragedies in its lack of concern about interlinear hiatus. Other tragedies tend to avoid hiatus between the end of one unstopped trimeter and the beginning of the next (cf. E. Harrison, *C.R.* 55 (1941) 22-5, 57 (1943) 61-3, Herington 37-40, Griffith 100-1, T. C. W. Stinton, *C.Q.* 27 (1977) 67-72). There are 38 such hiatuses in *Prom.* (e.g. 5-6, 8-9, 23-4, etc.), a rate of 15.1% of all available unstopped trimeters; Aeschylus ranges from 12% to 13%; Aristophanes reaches over 30% at times.

81. W. Ficker, *Vers und Satz im Dialog des Aisch.* (diss. Leipzig 1935), Garvie 37-8, Griffith 96-8.

82. E. Harrison, *P.C.P.S.* 110 (1921) 14-15, E. C. Yorke, *C.Q.* 30 (1936) 153-4, Griffith 96-7.

83. As many as ten and eleven at Soph. *OT* 370-1; see further Schein 42, 51, Griffith 92-4. On the related topic of sentence length, cf. Griffith 214-17: *Prom.* is typical of tragedy, with two-thirds of all its sentences between six and fifteen words long (i.e. usually one, two, or three *lines* long), and less than one tenth of them over twenty-three words long (e.g. 136-43, 199-206, 447-53, 829-38; cf. 199n.).

unusually high number: 113, 207, 501, 711, 799, 1005; cf. too 5, 20, 85, 109, 230, 269, 301, 305, 362, 469, 661, 722, 805, 817, 836, 858, 860, 920, 1025, where the fourth word is an unobtrusive monosyllable, *καὶ, δέ, vñv, κτλ.*).<sup>84</sup> Generally *Prom.* has slightly fewer (i.e. longer) words per trimeter than most Sophoclean or Euripidean plays.<sup>85</sup> Sonorous compounds and unusual vocabulary provide much of the majestic effect of such lines as 113, 362, and 799; but something is contributed too by the unusual rhythm, with a single word occupying a whole section before or after the caesura (cf. 113, 362nn.).

The figures of *alliteration*, *assonance*, and *polyptoton* also add both to the rhetorical and to the musical effect of particular lines or passages (88–92, 29, 944–6, 959, 968nn.).<sup>86</sup> Alliteration may be euphonous or, as more often here, cacophonous (cf. 88–92, 237, 334, 359, 366–9, etc.); but in either case its main effect is insistent emphasis, underlining the force of the words.

Further variation within dialogue scenes is provided by the alternation of rhesis with stichomythia (or other form of interchange, as 330–9, 742–56), the one expansive, almost leisurely (cf. 818) in its straightforward narrative and description, the other taut and elliptical, rich in particles of interrogation, agreement, sarcasm, hesitation, etc. In *Prom.*, each longer rhesis is carefully constructed, with brief introductory remarks (197–8, 340–6, 436–46, 476–7, 640–4, 700–6, 786–9, 823–8; cf. 193–6, 443–4nn.) leading into the more flowing narrative proper (199, 829–41nn.), clearly marked transitions from one topic to another (e.g. 221–2, 224–7, 640–86, 842–3nn.), and the whole neatly capped and rounded off (241, 373–6, 469–71, 505–6, 816, 875–6nn.; cf. 46, 609–12, 1007–35nn., and 12–35n.).<sup>87</sup> This concern for the tidy articulation of speeches, which may owe something to developments in rhetorical prose under the influence of the Sophists, lends a rather stiff and formal air to the dialogue, peculiar to this play.

84. W. B. Stanford, *C.R.* 54 (1940) 8–10, Griffith 91–2.

85. Griffith 92–4, Schein 42. *Prom.* averages 5.4 words per trimeter; Aeschylus ranges from 5.4 to 5.6, Sophocles from 5.8 to 6.1. Aesch. averages between 1.3 and 1.5 monosyllables per line, Soph. between 1.7 and 2.1; *Prom.* averages 1.4 (Schein).

86. See 88–92n., with references, and Griffith 203–7.

87. Griffith 207–14.

The stichomythia of *Prom.* performs a number of different functions.<sup>88</sup> At 246–59, 757–79, the line-for-line exchanges are used as virtual continuation and climax to the preceding narrative; similarly at 515–21, a topic arising from the preceding rhesis is briefly discussed, but then cut off by P.'s refusal to reveal the future. At 613–30 the stichomythia introduces a narrative which is then postponed by the interruption of the Chorus (631–4n.). By contrast, the dialogues of 36–87, 377–96, 928–36, 964–87 are more argumentative, reflecting the opposed characters and viewpoints of the two participants.

The formal arrangement of the stichomythia is for the most part of an unusually strict symmetry (i.e. regular one-to-one responsion, or two-to-one, 36–87; cf. 36–87, 507–25, 609–30, 742–81nn.).<sup>89</sup> Curiously symmetrical too is the use of short transitional speeches (usually of just four lines, cf. 193–6, 609–30nn.) connecting the different sections of an Episode (lyrics and rhesis, rhesis and stichomythia, etc.). This formal symmetry, like that of the epirrhematic Parodos,<sup>90</sup> gives an air of restraint and distance between the interlocutors: even when they are most friendly (as the Chorus and Io are to P.), they remain rhetorically, as well as physically, separated. It also helps to provide order and continuity amidst the unexpected arrivals and departures, and amidst the piecemeal narratives of future and past.<sup>91</sup>

By contrast, the argumentative stichomythia between Hermes and P. is marked by a strikingly asymmetrical structure (964–87n.), including one line in ἀντιλαβή (980n.), as both participants abandon all restraint and give rein to their tempers. (So too, to a lesser degree, the breakdown in relations between Ocean and P. is reflected in the irregular pattern of one- and two-line utterances; cf. 377–96, 383nn.)

88. A. Gross, *Die Stichomythie* (Berlin 1905), B. Seidensticker in Jens, *Bauformen* 183–220, Griffith 136–42, Conacher 149–55.

89. This accords with Aeschylean, and some Euripidean, practice; Sophocles' dialogue is usually less strict; Seidensticker in Jens, *Bauformen* 185–91, 200–4, Griffith 140–1.

90. See 127–92n., H. Popp in Jens, *Bauformen* 246–9, Griffith 110–11.

91. In Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the chorus regularly perform these transitional functions, but not with the same rigid adherence to four-line speeches; see Herington 32 and *C.R.* 13 (1963) 5–7, Griffith 130–4; also 631–4n.

## 6. THE PRODUCTION

The first production of *Prom.* presumably took place in the Theatre of Dionysus, on the south slope of the Acropolis at Athens. Little is known about the physical conditions of the Theatre in the middle of the fifth century.<sup>92</sup> The most important areas of uncertainty surround the existence (and composition, permanence, location, size, etc.) of a stage-building (*skēnē*); the existence of a raised stage; and the use of such devices as the *mēchanē* and *ekkyklēma* (cf. 284–396, 1080nn.). Of all Greek tragedies, *Prom.* presents the most puzzling questions of staging (esp. concerning the aerial arrivals of the Chorus and Ocean, and the final cataclysm): unfortunately, our answers must be based largely on conjecture.

On the view adopted in the Commentary (cf. 128–92, 284–396, 1080nn.), the audience, sitting on wooden seats round the natural auditorium of the hillside, are faced with a circular dancing-floor (*orchēstra*), some twenty metres in diameter; behind it, at a tangent, a slightly raised stage; and, behind the stage, a wooden *skēnē*, with a central door, and a roof strong enough to support several people (perhaps the whole Chorus? cf. 128–92n.). This *skēnē* would usually represent a palace, temple, etc., sometimes a cave or grove (cf. Soph. *Ph.*, *OC*, and several satyr plays): here it is decorated to represent a rocky crag.<sup>93</sup> The door is concealed; perhaps P. is fastened in front of it, and then in the final cataclysm withdrawn through it as if into the depths of the rock (1080n.).<sup>94</sup>

92. See Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA*, Taplin 434–59.

93. N. G. L. Hammond, *G.R.B.S.* 13 (1972) 387–450 argues that during the first half of the fifth century there still existed an outcrop of rock, about 5 metres by 5, part of which jutted into the *orchēstra* (at the side to the audience's left), and that this was employed by Aeschylus in his earlier plays (as the *πάρος* of *Supp.*, the acropolis of *Th.*, the tomb of Darius in *Pers.*). In that case, P. would obviously have been fixed to this (so Hammond 416ff.), with the Chorus entering from behind him, and taking their positions all round him (115, 124–6, 128–92nn.). But it is unlikely that this outcrop (which was certainly levelled by the 420s) would ever have been left thus obstructing the dance-floor; and at the end of *Prom.*, the removal of P. from the scene would be more difficult (1080n.); see further Taplin 448–9, West 135–6.

94. The shackling is described in detail, and was presumably enacted with a certain degree of realism (short of actually driving a wedge through P.'s chest, 64–5); Hephaestus wielded his tools, and the clang of metal was heard through-

The entrances and exits of most of the actors are made up one or other of the side-entrances (*parodoi*), which slope up between stage and auditorium (1-87, 561-608, 571-3, 941-2nn.). But Ocean arrives by *mēchanē*, (a crane concealed behind the *skēnē*, and used for aerial entries), sitting on an artificial 'griffin' (284-396n.); and he departs the same way. The Chorus also apparently arrive by air (128-92n.): in their case it is less clear how the entrance is managed. All in all, however, *Prom.* must have been one of the most spectacular and visually sensational tragedies ever presented on the fifth-century stage; the unexpected sights (and sounds; cf. 64-5, 1082-3nn.) provide relief and variety to a rather static and monotonous series of scenes.

All the members of the original cast were male. Three speaking actors were used,<sup>95</sup> with the protagonist presumably playing P., the deuteragonist (who must have had a good singing voice) Hephaestus and Io, the tritagonist Kratos and Hermes. Bia was played by a non-speaking extra (κωφὸν πρόσωπον). The Chorus comprised a leader (*koryphaios*) plus fourteen others (or eleven, if the change to fifteen-member choruses had not yet been made).<sup>96</sup> The piper (*auletes*) who accompanied the lyrics of the play probably sat in the middle of the *orchestra* (cf. 574n.).

## 7. AUTHENTICITY AND DATE

Aeschylus was born in Eleusis, just outside Athens, in 525-4 B.C.; he first competed in the dramatic festival in 499, won his first victory in 484, and died in Gela, Sicily, in 456.<sup>97</sup> Of the ninety or so plays ascribed to him, seven are preserved. For six of these, authorship and date are

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(continued)

out the auditorium (cf. 133-5). But at the end the final cataclysm must have left much to the imagination (1080, 1082-3nn.).

95. There is little to recommend the puppet theory (above, p. 8 n.25), except to those who prefer to date *Prom.* earlier than the introduction of the third actor (i.e. before the mid-460s); for, with a dummy, no more than two speaking actors are required. But see *contra* 88-127n., and Griffith 146 with n.16, Taplin 243-5. (Neither Eur. *Med.* nor *Alc.* requires more than two speaking actors, as late as the 430s.)

96. See Taplin 323 n.3.

97. See further F. Schöll, *De Aesch. vita et poesi testimonia veterum*, in F. Ritschl, *Aesch. Sept.* (Leipzig 1875) 3-52, Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 105-6.



confirmed by didascalical information (and, in most cases, the near-contemporary testimony of Aristophanes): *Pers.* 472 B.C., *Th.* 467, *Supp.* 465–459, *Oresteia* 458. For the seventh play, *Prom.*, we have no didascalical information (cf. *Hypoth.* n.) or fifth-century testimony, but it has certainly been regarded as Aeschylean at least since the third century B.C., and no doubts as to its authenticity are recorded from ancient authors or in the scholia to the play.<sup>98</sup>

Most modern scholars have seen no good reason to doubt the traditional ascription, though opinions as to date have varied. From internal evidence (the description of the eruption of Mt Aetna, cf. 363–72n.), the play can be dated later than 479 B.C. Certain stylistic traits have led many recent scholars to date it late in Aeschylus' career, perhaps even later than the *Oresteia*:<sup>99</sup> the low rate of resolutions in the trimeter; the use of three speaking actors, and of actors' anapaests and monodies; the diminished role of the Chorus; apparent sophistic elements;<sup>100</sup> a few syntactical details;<sup>101</sup> and the possible influence of Sophocles (esp. in the dialogue structure of the Prologue, 2 : 1 stichomythia, ἀντιλαβή, the epirrhematic Parodos, the nature of the hero, and, above all, 'Sophoclean' enjambement in the trimeter). Attempts to identify Sicilian influence on the play have yielded little.<sup>102</sup>

A number of scholars, however, have concluded, from the structure and style (and, in a few cases, the conception) of the play, that it is not the work of Aeschylus at all,<sup>103</sup> or that it was left unfinished by him, and completed by a member of his family (e.g. his son, Euphorion, himself a tragedian of note).<sup>104</sup> Of these critics, some argue that *Prom.* was com-

98. Griffith 226–54.

99. See esp. Herington *passim*; further references in Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 125 n.2.

100. Schmid 23–30, 53–7, 92–7, Griffith 203–14, 217–21, and *Dionysiaca* 121–3.

101. Herington 40–75, Griffith 190–200.

102. Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 105–39, with bibliography in n.1.

103. For a brief history of 'the problem', see Griffith 1–7. The first doubts were raised in 1857 and 1869 by R. Westphal, who suggested that the play had been reworked. In 1911 A. Gercke proposed that the whole play was spurious; the case was argued much more fully and effectively by W. Schmid (1929, and *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* (Munich 1940) 1.3); further evidence and arguments in Griffith *passim*.

104. So e.g. E. R. Dodds, *The ancient concept of progress* (Oxford 1973) 26ff., Griffith 254.

posed as part of a trilogy (with *P. Lyomenos* and *P. Pyrphoros*) by the unknown dramatist; others, especially those who find the figure of Zeus in *Prom.* incompatible with Aeschylean theology, that *Prom.* was written as a separate play, perhaps directed in some sense against the Aeschylean *P. Lyomenos* (itself also a monodrama). On this view, the author of *Prom.* presents a daring challenge to Aeschylus' more conventionally pious view of Zeus, and leaves us with a most disturbing picture of unresolved divine conflict.<sup>105</sup> Most would date the play to the 440s or 430s, on the basis of similarities to early Euripides and Sophocles, and probable echoes in Aristophanes (cf. 59, 613nn.).<sup>106</sup>

Theology apart, the main grounds for suspicion, in addition to the 'Sophoclean' elements mentioned above, are briefly the following: (i) the simpler and more prosaic style, less rich in ambiguity and metaphor, and presenting far fewer problems of translation and interpretation

105. So esp. Schmid 91–107, and cf. Müller 628–33. Such critics are confident that they can identify a consistent Aeschylean 'theology' from the other six plays, characterized above all by belief in an omnipotent, and ultimately benevolent, supreme deity, with whom the Zeus of *Prom.* appears to conflict most sharply. But it is unwise to expect such a uniform theology from a tragedian – or even to claim to find it in Aeschylus' surviving plays. It is true that the *Oresteia* and *Suppliants* are much preoccupied with Zeus as guarantor of human justice (though by no means transparently kind or philanthropic); but we have no reason to doubt that Aeschylus could have chosen to present different aspects of his nature in other plays. Nor need the emphasis in *Prom.* on Zeus' inability to control destiny (515–20 etc.) be taken as contradiction of his power as portrayed in those other plays: this ambivalence in Zeus' position is far older than Aeschylus, and not such as to trouble any but a professional philosopher; see above, pp. 17–19, and 520n. For most Aeschylean theologians, the unpleasant Zeus of *Prom.* either *develops* into the benign Zeus during the rest of the trilogy (so e.g. Solmsen, Thomson, and Herington, *Arion* 4 (1965) 387–403), or *reveals* his other side, as e.g. the Erinyes do in *Eum.* (so K. Reinhardt 58–75), according to how we reconstruct the action of *P. Lyomenos* (and perhaps *P. Pyrphoros* too). In any event, in the absence of the sequel, it is surely vain to insist that this Zeus is incompatible with Aeschylean authorship: it may not be the Zeus we might expect, but the problems which he poses for us are worthy of a dramatist of Aeschylus' genius. See further on the whole issue L. R. Farnell, *J.H.S.* 53 (1933) 40–50, H. Lloyd-Jones, *J.H.S.* 76 (1956) 55–67, Rosenmeyer 72–7 and *A.J.P.* 76 (1955) 242–60, Conacher 120–37.

106. Griffith 9–13, 252–4. For discussion of *Prom.* as a monodrama, to be seen and understood on its own, see Rosenmeyer 51–102, Griffith 245–52; but the similarities and echoes of phrase, theme, and structure between *Desmotēs* and *Lyomenos* are certainly too close to be *entirely* accidental; see App. p. 281.

than any of the six;<sup>107</sup> (ii) the treatment of the Chorus, whose lyrics are far shorter, and metrically of a different character, than those of the six undisputed plays, and whose contribution to the dramatic interest is relatively small; (iii) the metrical technique of the anapaests (above, pp. 23-4) and of the iambic trimeters (above, pp. 25-7); (iv) the episodic structure, especially the inorganic Ocean and Io scenes (above, pp. 12-14, 284-396, 561-886nn.); (v) the extraordinary problems of staging (above, pp. 30-1), which manifest a greater concern for bizarre and spectacular effects than any of the six plays, and may possibly have required machinery and stage-buildings which were not available to Aeschylus;<sup>108</sup> (vi) the occurrence in *Prom.* of a large number of words not found in the six plays (a markedly higher proportion than in the case of any of the six), and of particular repeated words later common in Sophocles and Euripides (e.g. *χόλος*, *αἰκεία* κτλ., *νόσος*, *ζητέω*, *γεγωνέω*, *προθυμέομαι*, *λίαν*, *πέρα*); (vii) the greater frequency and range of particles (especially *γε*, *καίτοι*, *οὐ* *δῆτα*, *δῆθεν*, *θῆν*); (viii) sophistic and rhetorical elements, especially P.'s account of cultural progress, the fastidious articulation of speeches (above, p. 28), and the extensive use of *polyptoton* (29n.); and cf. 62, 266, 317, 335-6, 383, 450-506nn.

With the limited evidence available to us for comparison (less than one-tenth of Aeschylus' *oeuvre*), we cannot hope for certainty one way or the other, especially since the language and style of Attic tragedy are in so many respects consistent and conventional. The play is certainly 'Aeschylean' in its grandiloquent diction,<sup>109</sup> and perhaps in its trilogic conception – but even here we know too little about Aeschylus' rivals

107. While the *diction* is generally high-flown and Aeschylean (below, n.109), *syntax* and *expression* often appear curiously flat, even colloquial (46, 67, 199, 216-18, 219-21, 505, 609-12, 929, 961, 1011, 1030-1nn.; Earp 87-8). Notable too is the frequency with which words and whole phrases are repeated, without the variation and thematic suggestiveness that is usual in Aeschylus (e.g. *γέγωνε* (193-6n.), 46, 295, 298-306nn., and further Herington 33-5, Griffith 201-2; also pp. 19-20 above). The relative simplicity and clarity of *Prom.*'s style have frequently been noted; but comment has remained for the most part brief and impressionistic, and no satisfactory analysis exists.

108. Griffith 143-6, Taplin 240-75.

109. Compound adjectives, neuter nouns in -μα, and adverbs of all kinds are used more extensively in *Prom.* than in Sophocles or Euripides (Earp 6ff., Griffith 149-52); cf. too above, p. 28, on long words in general.

and successors, apart from Sophocles and Euripides, to state how distinctive these features are.<sup>110</sup>

More important than authenticity or date for the interpretation of the play is the question of its possible place within a trilogy: for this may materially alter our assessment of particular themes and even of the whole drama. Here again, the evidence is not conclusive; but the view adopted in the Commentary is that *Prom.* is probably the second play in a trilogy. (The evidence is discussed in the Appendix, where a very tentative reconstruction is offered.) But it should be borne in mind throughout the reading of *Prom.* that the existence of the trilogy is not certain, and that, even if it did exist, the details, even the main outlines, of its overall design are matters of conjecture. Our first duty is to understand *Prom.* itself, on its own terms.

## 8. THE TEXT

Fifth-century tragedies were written primarily for one performance, at the City Dionysia. After that performance, they might sometimes be produced at other dramatic festivals in Attica;<sup>111</sup> and in the case of Aeschylus it is reported that his plays were revived after his death.<sup>112</sup> In addition, some (but probably not many)<sup>113</sup> written texts of popular plays were circulated for private reading, some more reliable than others. In the fourth century, revivals of 'old tragedies' (above all, those of Euripides) became a regular part of the City Dionysia. These revivals were apparently liable to depart freely from the original text, so much so

110. Membership of a connected trilogy is usually taken as evidence for Aeschylean authorship, since Sophocles and Euripides rarely composed such trilogies. So too, the divine conflicts of Aesch. *Oresteia*, especially the enactment of them on stage in *Eum.* (cf. too Aesch. *Psychostasia*), provide a closer analogy to the cosmic and chronological scale of *Prom.* than does any surviving play of Soph. or Eur. But other fifth-century tragedians did produce successful trilogies (Pickard-Cambridge, *DTC* 60-3, *DFA* 80-1, T. Gantz, *C.J.* 74 (1979) 289ff.).

111. Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA* 40-54, 99-101.

112. *Life of Aesch.* 12, Philostr. *Life of Apoll.* 6.11; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *DFA* 99-100, 108-9.

113. W. B. Sedgwick, *C.&M.* 9 (1948) 1-9, E. G. Turner, *Athenian books* (London 1952), Griffith 232-3 with n.56.

that a decree was passed (Lycurgus', c. 330 B.C.) requiring that official copies of the plays of the three great tragedians be kept, and forbidding actors to deviate from these. It is not known on what basis these official texts were chosen; but it is supposedly from them that the scholars of the Library at Alexandria, in the late third and early second centuries B.C., established the standard texts upon which the later tradition almost certainly depends.<sup>114</sup>

The Alexandrians knew of some ninety titles of Aeschylean plays, and probably possessed texts of about seventy of them. But Aeschylus was never studied, or appreciated, as much as Euripides, or even Sophocles,<sup>115</sup> and by the third century A.D. interest in his plays seems to have confined itself to a selection of seven plays, perhaps designed for school use. At any rate, only these seven survived the Byzantine Middle Ages, in one or more MSS in capital script, to be copied into minuscule script when interest in classical literature began to revive in the ninth and tenth centuries. One MS of this period is preserved (M, c. A.D. 950): it is the only MS to contain all seven of the plays; for during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the selection narrowed itself still further, to three plays only, *Prom.*, *Pers.*, and *Th.*, and it was on this 'Byzantine Triad' that the scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries focused their attention (though at some point before c. A.D. 1320 *Ag.* and *Eum.* came back into the picture). It is to this period that most of the other 30 MSS used as the basis of the present edition belong; (a few are from the fifteenth century). The exact relationships between these 30 are complex, and not yet fully understood:<sup>116</sup> but for our purposes all that is important is that *any* of them *may* be found on occasion to preserve an old and good reading not found in any of the others. No meaningful stemma, or 'family tree' of MSS, can be reconstructed, since this is an 'open' or 'contaminated' recension throughout: 'therefore every reading must be assessed, not by stemma, but on its merits'.<sup>117</sup>

Full descriptions and collations of the MSS are to be found in Page's OCT, supplemented by Dawe. In the present edition, the *apparatus*

114. R. Pfeiffer, *Hist. class. schol.* (Oxford 1968) 196ff., P. M. Frazer, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1312ff., Wartelle 135-42, 323-36.

115. Wartelle 316-36, Griffith 349 n.71.

116. See Dawe *passim*, Page's *praefatio* to the OCT, Herington, *Older scholia* 3-49, O. L. Smith (ed.), *Scholia in Aesch.* 1 (Leipzig 1976) vii-xviii.

117. Page, OCT p.viii.

records the most important MS variants, such emendations as are accepted into the text, and a few others which deserve to be taken seriously; some further conjectures are mentioned in the Commentary. Variants of interest only to students of the MS tradition are omitted; so are unimportant variations in orthography (such as  $\delta\epsilon\iota/\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota/\gamma\iota\gamma\text{-}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ , accents, breathings, iota subscript or adscript, dative plurals in  $-\omicron\iota\varsigma/-\omicron\iota\omicron\iota/-\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\nu$ , etc.).

The same symbols are used for the individual MSS as in Page's OCT. In the interests of simplicity and clarity, however, the symbols  $\Omega$ ,  $\Psi$  and  $\Phi$  have been used to denote 'all the MSS', 'a majority of the MSS', and 'a minority of the MSS' respectively. In cases where the MSS diverge, the reading of M (by far our oldest witness to the text) is always reported: but individual MSS other than M are not specified except where only one or two of them are alone in a particular reading. (In one case, that of MS Tri., written by the foremost Byzantine scholar of tragedy, Demetrius Triclinius, it is clear that many readings which are shared by no other MS are in fact his own conjectures, and they are reported as such in the *app. crit.*, e.g. at 176, 182, 183. Many are due to his knowledge of metre, which was greatly superior to that of his predecessors.)

The text of *Prom.* is generally in fairly good condition, much better than that of the other six plays: this may be partly because of its simpler style, partly because it was the first play in the Triad, so that the copyists were fresh. In a few places we are able to correct the MSS from other sources, especially the lexica of Hesychius and Photius (17, 150, 680, 877nn.) and the marginal scholia to the play found in some of the MSS, which sometimes contain, amongst laboured and misleading attempts at exegesis by various ancient and Byzantine scholars, an old reading or informative paraphrase (cf. 420-1, 558-60, 599-601nn.; also 2, 6nn.).



# LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

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Ω	Consensus of all MSS
Ψ	Majority of MSS
Φ	Minority of MSS
A	Milan, Ambros. C 222 inf.
B	Florence, Laur. 31.3
C	Paris, gr. 2785
D	Milan, Ambros. G 56 sup.
Δ	Moscow, Gosud. Istor. Muzey (formerly Sinod. Bibl. 508)
F	Florence, Laur. 31.8
G	Venice, gr. 616 (663)
H	Heidelberg, Palat. gr. 18
Ha	Madrid, 4617
I	Mount Athos, Iviron 209 (formerly 161)
K	Florence, Laur. conv. soppr. 11
Lc	Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Nn III 17A
Lh	Cambridge, Univ. Lib. Nn III 17B
M	Florence, Laur. 32.9 ('Mediceus')
N	Madrid, 4677
Nc	Florence, Laur. 28.25
O	Leiden, Voss. gr. Q4A
P	Paris, gr. 2787
Q	Paris, gr. 2884
Tri.	Naples, II F31 (Demetrius Triclinius)
V	Venice, gr. 653 (formerly 468)
W	Rome, Vat. gr. 1332
X	Florence, Laur. 31.2
Y	Leiden, Voss. gr. Q6
Ya	Vienna, phil. gr. 197
M <sup>ac</sup>	Original reading in M, before correction
Myp	Variant reading reported in M

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ

## ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ

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ὑπόθεσις· Προμηθέως ἐν Σκυθίαι δεδεμένου διὰ τὸ κεκλοφέναι τὸ  
πῦρ πυνθάνεται Ἰὼ πλανωμένη ὅτι κατ' Αἴγυπτον γενομένη ἐκ τῆς  
ἐπαφήσεως τοῦ Διὸς τέξεται τὸν Ἑπαφόν· Ἑρμῆς τε παράγεται  
ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ κεραυνωθήσεσθαι ἐὰν μὴ εἴπηι τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσ-  
5 θαι τῷ Διί· καὶ τέλος βροντῆς γενομένης ἀφανῆς γίνεται ὁ  
Προμηθεύς. κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία ἐν παρεκβάσει παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν  
Κολχίσι, παρὰ δ' Εὐριπίδῃ ὅλως οὐ κεῖται. ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ  
δράματος ὑπόκειται ἐν Σκυθίαι ἐπὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος, ὃ δὲ χορὸς  
συνέστηκεν ἐξ Ὠκεανίδων νυμφῶν. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ἐστι  
10 Προμηθέως δέσις.

τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα· Κράτος καὶ Βία Ἥφαιστος χορὸς  
Ὠκεανίδων Προμηθεύς Ὠκεανὸς Γῇ Ἡρακλῆς Ἑρμῆς Ἰὼ  
Ἰνάχου.

15 (Added by M) ἰστέον ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὸν κοινὸν λόγον ἐν Καυκάσῳ  
φησὶ δεδέσθαι τὸν Προμηθεά ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις τέρ-  
μασιν τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, ὥς ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς τὴν Ἰὼ λεγομένων ἔστιν  
συμβαλεῖν.

## ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ

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### ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

Χθονὸς μὲν εἰς τηλουργὸν ἤκομεν πέδον,  
Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν.  
Ἦφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρή μέλιν ἐπιστολὰς  
ἅς σοι πατήρ ἐφεῖτο, τόνδε πρὸς πέτραις  
ὑψηλοκρήμνοις τὸν λεωργὸν ὀχμάσαι 5  
ἀδάμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις.  
τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας,  
θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὥπασεν. τοιᾶσδέ τοι  
ἀμαρτίας σφε δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην,  
ὥς ἂν διδαχθῇ τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα 10  
στέργειν, φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τρόπου.

### ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

Κράτος Βία τε, σφῶιν μὲν ἐντολὴ Διὸς  
ἔχει τέλος δὴ κούδεν ἐμποδὼν ἔτι,  
ἐγὼ δ' ἄτολμός εἰμι συγγενῇ θεὸν  
δῆσαι βίαι φάραγγι πρὸς δυσχειμέρῳ. 15  
πάντως δ' ἀνάγκη τῶνδὲ μοι τόλμαν σχεθεῖν·  
εὐωριάζειν γὰρ πατρὸς λόγους βαρύ.  
τῆς ὀρθοβούλου Θέμιδος αἰπυμῆτα παῖ,  
ἄκοντά σ' ἄκων δυσλύτοις χαλκεύμασι  
προσπασσαλεύσω τῶιδ' ἀπανθρώπῳ πάγῳ, 20  
ἴν' οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν  
ὄψηι, σταθευτὸς δ' ἡλίου φοῖβηι φλογὶ  
χροιᾶς ἀμείψεις ἄνθος· ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι

2 ἄβροτον schol. Hom. *Il.* 14.78, schol. Aristoph. *Frogs* 814 (ἄδρ-):  
ἄβατον Ω (ἄβατόν τ' Μ) 6 schol. Aristoph. *Frogs* 814, Suda (Suda  
omits ἐν): ἀδάμαντίναις (-οις, -ηις) πέδησιν (-αισιν) ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέτραις  
ΜΨ (ΒΚΥαF omit ἐν) 17 Porson (from Hesychius and Photius):  
ἐξωριάζειν Ω 20 πάγῳ Ψ: τόπῳ Μ 21 βροτῶν ΜΨ: θεῶν Φ  
(PQHα have both)

- ἡ ποικιλείμων νύξ ἀποκρύψει φάος  
 πάχνην θ' ἑώϊαν ἥλιος σκεδᾷ πάλιν· 25  
 αἰεὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος ἀχθηδὼν κακοῦ  
 τρύσει σ' ὁ λωφήσων γὰρ οὐ πέφυκέ πω.  
 τοιαῦτ' ἐπηύρου τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τρόπου·  
 θεὸς θεῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑποπτήσσων χόλον  
 βροτοῖσι τιμὰς ὥπασας πέρα δίκης· 30  
 ἀνθ' ὧν ἀτερπῇ τήνδε φρουρήσεις πέτραι  
 ὀρθοστάδην ἄνπνος, οὐ κάμπτων γόνυ·  
 πολλοὺς δ' ὀδυρμούς καὶ γόους ἀνωφελεῖς  
 φθέγξῃ· Διὸς γὰρ δυσπαραίτητοι φρένες,  
 ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἄν νέον κρατῇ. 35  
 Κρ. εἰέν, τί μέλλεις καὶ κατοικτίζῃ μάτην;  
 τί τὸν θεοῖς ἔχθιστον οὐ στυγεῖς θεόν,  
 ὅστις τὸ σὸν θνητοῖσι προὔδωκεν γέρας;  
 Ηφ. τὸ συγγενές τοι δεινὸν ἢ θ' ὁμιλία.  
 Κρ. σύμφημ', ἀνηκουστεῖν δὲ τῶν πατρὸς λόγων 40  
 οἷόν τε πῶς; οὐ τοῦτο δειμαίνεις πλέον;  
 Ηφ. αἰεὶ γε δὴ νηλὴς σὺ καὶ θράσους πλέως.  
 Κρ. ἄκος γὰρ οὐδὲν τόνδε θρηνεῖσθαι· σὺ δὲ  
 τὰ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα μὴ πόνει μάτην.  
 Ηφ. ὦ πολλὰ μισηθεῖσα χειρωναξία. 45  
 Κρ. τί νιν στυγεῖς; πόνων γὰρ ὡς ἀπλῶι λόγῳ  
 τῶν νῦν παρόντων οὐδὲν αἰτία τέχνη.  
 Ηφ. ἔμπας τις αὐτὴν ἄλλος ὠφελεν λαχεῖν.  
 Κρ. ἅπαντ' ἐπαχθῇ πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν·  
 ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός. 50  
 Ηφ. ἔγνωκα τοῖσδε, κούδεν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω.  
 Κρ. οὐκουν ἐπείξῃ τῷδε δεσμᾷ περιβαλεῖν,  
 ὥς μὴ σ' ἐλινύοντα προσδερχθῇ πατήρ;

28 Elmsley: ἐπηύρω M: ἀπηύρω Ψ    41 MΨ: οἷόν τε; πῶς ... Φ  
 42 γε δὴ KQTgr.: τε δὴ MG: τι δὴ PYa: τοι δὴ Ψ    49 Stanley:  
 ἐπράχθη Ω    51 MΨ: ἔγνωκα· τοῖσδέ τ' οὐδὲν G (δ' anon.)  
 52 MΦ: δεσμᾷ τῷδε Ψ

- Ηφ. καὶ δὴ πρόχειρα ψάλια δέρκεσθαι πάρα.  
 Κρ. βαλὼν νιν ἀμφὶ χερσὶν ἐγκρατεῖ σθένει 55  
 ραισθηρί θείνῃ, πασσάλευε πρὸς πέτραις.  
 Ηφ. περαίνεται δὴ κοῦ ματᾶι τοῦργον τόδε.  
 Κρ. ἄρασσε μᾶλλον, σφίγγε, μηδαμῇ χάλα,  
 δεινὸς γὰρ εὐρεῖν κάξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον.  
 Ηφ. ἄραρεν ἦδε γ' ὠλένη δυσεκλύτως. 60  
 Κρ. καὶ τήνδε νῦν πόρπασον ἀσφαλῶς, ἵνα  
 μάθῃ σοφιστῆς ὦν Διὸς νωθέστερος.  
 Ηφ. πλὴν τοῦδ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἐνδίκως μέμψαιτό μοι.  
 Κρ. ἀδαμαντίνου νῦν σφηνὸς αὐθάδη γνάθον  
 στέρνων διαμπᾶξ πασσάλευ' ἐρρωμένως. 65  
 Ηφ. αἰαῖ Προμηθεῦ, σῶν ὕπερ στένω πόνων.  
 Κρ. σὺ δ' αὖ κατοκνεῖς τῶν Διὸς τ' ἐχθρῶν ὕπερ  
 στένεις; ὅπως μὴ σαυτὸν οἰκτιεῖς ποτε.  
 Ηφ. ὁρᾷς θέαμα δυσθέατον ὁμμασιν.  
 Κρ. ὁρῶ κυροῦντα τόνδε τῶν ἐπαξίων. 70  
 ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖς μασχαλιστήρας βάλε.  
 Ηφ. δρᾶν ταῦτ' ἀνάγκη· μηδὲν ἐγκέλευ' ἄγαν.  
 Κρ. ἢ μὴν κελεύσω κάπιθωῶξ γε πρὸς.  
 χώρει κάτω, σκέλη δὲ κίρκωσον βίαι.  
 Ηφ. καὶ δὴ πέπρακται τοῦργον οὐ μακρῶι πόνωι. 75  
 Κρ. ἐρρωμένως νῦν θεῖνε διατόρους πέδας,  
 ὥς οὐπιτιμητῆς γε τῶν ἔργων βαρὺς.  
 Ηφ. ὁμοῖα μορφῇι γλῶσσά σου γηρύεται.  
 Κρ. σὺ μαλθακίζου, τήν δ' ἐμὴν αὐθαδίαν  
 ὀργῆς τε τραχυτῆτα μὴ 'πίπλησέ μοι. 80  
 Ηφ. στείχωμεν, ὥς κώλοισιν ἀμφίβληστρ' ἔχει.  
 Κρ. ἐνταῦθα νῦν ὕβριζε καὶ θεῶν γέρα  
 συλῶν ἐφημέροισι προστίθει. τί σοι

55 Stanley: λαβὼν Ω 59 Ω: πόρους schol. Aristoph. *Knights* 759  
 66 ὑπερστένω ΜΨ: ὑποστένω M<sup>ac</sup>O 75 ΜΨ: χρόνῳ Φ 82 ΜΨ:  
 γέρας ΟΥ



οἰοί τε θνητοὶ τῶνδ' ἀπαντλήσαι πόνων;  
 ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθεά 85  
 καλοῦσιν· αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθέως.  
 δτωι τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης.

### ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ὦ διὸς αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί,  
 ποταμῶν τε πηγαὶ ποντίων τε κυμάτων  
 ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα παμμήτορ τε γῆ, 90  
 καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ.  
 ἴδεσθέ μ' οἶα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.  
 δέρχθηθ' οἶαις αἰκείαισιν  
 διακναιόμενος τὸν μυριετῆ  
 χρόνον ἀθλεύσω· 95  
 τοιόνδ' ὁ νέος ταγὸς μακάρων  
 ἐξηῦρ' ἐπ' ἔμοι δεσμὸν ἀεικῆ.  
 φεῦ φεῦ τὸ παρὸν τό τ' ἐπερχόμενον  
 πῆμα στενάχω, πῆι ποτε μόχθων  
 χρὴ τέρματα τῶνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι. 100  
 καίτοι τί φημί; πάντα προυξεπίσταμαι  
 σκεθρῶς τὰ μέλλοντ', οὐδέ μοι ποταίνιον  
 πῆμ' οὐδὲν ἤξει. τὴν πεπρωμένην δέ χρὴ  
 αἶσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥαῖστα, γινώσκονθ' ὅτι  
 τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔστ' ἀδήριτον σθένος. 105  
 ἄλλ' οὔτε σιγᾶν οὔτε μὴ σιγᾶν τύχας  
 οἶόν τέ μοι τάσδ' ἔστί· θνητοῖς γὰρ γέρα  
 πορῶν ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαι τάλας.  
 ναρθηκοπλήρωτόν δέ θηρῶμαι πυρὸς  
 πηγὴν κλοπαίαν, ἣ διδάσκαλος τέχνης 110  
 πάσης βροτοῖς πέφηνε καὶ μέγας πόρος.  
 τοιῶνδε ποινὰς ἀμπλακημάτων τίνω

87 ΜΨ: τύχης Φ      89 ΜΨ: ρευμάτων γρ. in PK      90 Ψ: παμμήτωρ  
 ΜΙ      98 φεῦ φεῦ ΜΨ: αἶ αἶ Φ      99 πῆι YaLcTri.: ποῖ ΜΨ      108  
 ἐνέζευγμαι ΜΦ: ὑπεξ- ογ ἐπεξ- Ψ      111 ΜΨ: πέφυκε Φ      112 Stanley:  
 τοιάσδε Ω

ὑπαίθριος δεσμοῖς πεπασσαλευμένος.

ἃ ἃ ἕα ἕα·

τίς ἀχῶ, τίς ὁδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής;

115

θεόσυτος ἢ βρότειος ἢ κεκραμένη

ἵκετο τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον;

πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, ἢ τί δὴ θέλων;

ὀρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν,

τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς

120

δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ', ὅποσοι

τὴν Διὸς αὐλὴν εἰσοιχνεῦσιν,

διὰ τὴν λῖαν φιλότητα βροτῶν.

φεῦ φεῦ τί ποτ' αὖ κινάθισμα κλύω

πέλας οἰωνῶν; αἰθήρ δ' ἐλαφραῖς

125

πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς ὑποσυρίζει·

πᾶν μοι φοβερόν τὸ προσέρπον.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

μηδὲν φοβηθῆις· φιλία γὰρ ἦδε τά-

[στρ. α

ξις πτερύγων θοαῖς ἀμίλ-

λαις προσέβα τόνδε πάγον, πατρώιας

130

μόγισ παρειποῦσα φρένας·

κραιπνοφόροι δέ μ' ἔπεμψαν αὔραι·

κτύπου γὰρ ἀχῶ χάλυβος διῆιξεν ἀν-

τρων μυχόν, ἐκ δ' ἔπληξέ μου

τὰν θεμερῶπιν αἰδῶ·

σύθην δ' ἀπέδιλος ὄχῳι πτερωτῶι.

135

Πρ. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ,

τῆς πολυτέκνου Τηθύος ἔκγονα,

τοῦ περὶ πᾶσάν θ' εἰλίσσομένου

χθόν' ἀκοιμήτῳι ρεύματι παῖδες

πατρός 'Ωκεανοῦ, δέρχθητ', ἐσίδεσθ'

140

113 Ω: ὑπαιθρίοις Blomfield πεπασσαλευμένος Robortello: πασσαλεύμενος (-ευμένος M) M<sup>ac</sup>Φ: πασσαλευτός Ψ: -ευτός ὧν Turnebus 140 ἐσίδεσθ' MΦ: ἐσίδεσθέ μ(ε) Ψ (ἐπίδ- QK)



πρὶν ἂν ἡ κορέσῃ κέαρ ἢ παλάμαι τινὶ  
τὰν δυσάλωτον ἔλῃ τις ἀρχάν.

Πρ. ἡ μὴν ἔτ' ἐμοῦ καίπερ κρατεραῖς  
ἐν γυιοπέδαις αἰκίζομένου  
χρεῖαν ἔξει μακάρων πρύτανις.  
δεῖξαι τὸ νέον βούλευμ', ὅφ' οὔτου 170  
σκῆπτρον τιμάς τ' ἀποσυλᾶται·  
καί μ' οὔτι μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς  
ἐπαοιδαῖσιν θέλξει, στερεάς τ'  
οὔποτ' ἀπειλὰς πτήξας τόδ' ἐγὼ  
καταμηνύσω πρὶν ἂν ἐξ ἀγρίων 175  
δεσμῶν χαλάσῃ ποινὰς τε τίνειν  
τῆσδ' αἰκείας ἐθελήσῃ.

Χο. σὺ μὲν θρασύς τε καὶ πικραῖς [ἀντ. β  
δύαισιν οὐδὲν ἐπιχαλαῖς,  
ἄγαν δ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖς. 180  
ἐμὰς δὲ φρένας ἡρέθισε διάτορος φόβος.  
δέδια δ' ἀμφὶ σαῖς τύχαις,  
πᾶι ποτε τῶνδε πόνων  
χρή σε τέρμα κέλσαντ'  
ἐσιδεῖν· ἀκίχητα γὰρ ἦθεα καὶ κέαρ  
ἀπαράμυθον ἔχει Κρόνου παῖς. 185

Πρ. οἶδ' ὅτι τραχὺς καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ  
τὸ δίκαιον ἔχων· ἔμπας δ', οἶω,  
μαλακογνώμων  
ἔσται ποθ', ὅταν ταύτῃ ραισθῇ·  
τὴν δ' ἀτέραμνον στορέσας ὀργὴν 190

172 Ψ (οὔτοι MCO, οὔτε Porson): καίτοι μ' οὐ Φ 176 Tri.: τέ μοι  
τίνειν Ω 182 δ' Tri.: γὰρ Ω 183 πᾶι Tri.: ὅπαι (or ὀπη, ὀποι, ὀπου)  
Ω 187 ἔμπας δ' (ἔμπας Bothe) Griffith: Ζεὺς· ἀλλ' ἔμπας Ω οἶω  
Ω: del. Tri.

εἰς ἄρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα  
σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἤξει.

- Χο. πάντ' ἐκκάλυψον καὶ γέγων' ἡμῖν λόγον,  
ποιῶι λαβὼν σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιάματι  
οὕτως ἀτίμως καὶ πικρῶς αἰκίζεται. 195  
δίδαξον ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι μὴ βλάβητι λόγῳ.
- Πρ. ἀλγεινὰ μὲν μοι καὶ λέγειν ἐστὶν τάδε,  
ἄλγος δὲ σιγᾶν, πανταχῇ δὲ δύσποτμα.  
ἐπεὶ τάχιστ' ἤρξαντο δαίμονες χόλου  
στάσις τ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ὠροθύνετο, 200  
οἱ μὲν θέλοντες ἐκβαλεῖν ἔδρας Κρόνον  
ὥς Ζεὺς ἀνάσσοι δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ τοῦμπαλιν  
σπεύδοντες ὥς Ζεὺς μήποτ' ἄρξειεν θεῶν,  
ἐνταῦθ' ἐγὼ τὰ λῶιστα βουλευὼν πιθεῖν  
Τιτᾶνας, Οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ Χθονὸς τέκνα, 205  
οὐκ ἠδυνήθην· αἰμύλας δὲ μηχανὰς  
ἀτιμάσαντες καρτεροῖς φρονήμασιν  
ῶιοντ' ἀμοχθὶ πρὸς βίαν τε δεσπόσειν·  
ἐμοὶ δὲ μήτηρ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον Θέμις  
καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία, 210  
τὸ μέλλον ἦι κραίνοιτο προυτεθεσπίζει,  
ὥς οὐ κατ' ἰσχὺν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν  
χρεῖη, δόλῳ δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κρατεῖν.  
τοιαῦτ' ἐμοῦ λόγοισιν ἐξηγουμένου  
οὐκ ἠξίωσαν οὐδὲ προσβλέψαι τὸ πᾶν. 215  
κράτιστα δὲ μοι τῶν παρεστώτων τότε  
ἐφαίνεται εἶναι προσλαβόντα μητέρα  
ἐκόνθ' ἐκόντι Ζηνὶ συμπαραστατεῖν·  
ἐμαῖς δὲ βουλαῖς Ταρτάρου μελαμβαθῆς  
κευθμῶν καλύπτει τὸν παλαιγενῆ Κρόνον 220

221 Ω: κρανοῖτο Elmsley 213 Dawes: χρεῖ' ἢ οἱ χρή ἢ Ω δέ  
ΜΦ: τε Ψ: Μ<sup>ac</sup>QKVMΟ omit ὑπερέχοντας Ω: ὑπερσχόντας Porson  
217 Φ: προσλαβόντι ΜΨ

αὐτοῖσι συμμάχοισι. τοιάδ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ  
 ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος ὠφελημένος  
 κακαῖσι τιμαῖς ταῖσδέ μ' ἐξημείψατο·  
 ἔνεστι γάρ πως τοῦτο τῇ τυραννίδι  
 νόσημα, τοῖς φίλοισι μὴ πεποιθέναι. 225

ὁ δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾷτ', αἰτίαν καθ' ἣντινα  
 αἰκίζεται με, τοῦτο δὴ σαφηνιῶ.  
 ὅπως τάχιστα τὸν πατρῷον ἐς θρόνον  
 καθέζετ', εὐθὺς δαίμοσιν νέμει γέρα  
 ἄλλοισιν ἄλλα καὶ διεστοιχίζετο 230

ἀρχήν, βροτῶν δὲ τῶν ταιλαιπῶρων λόγον  
 οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδέν', ἀλλ' αἰστώσας γένος  
 τὸ πᾶν ἐχρηζεν ἄλλο φιτῦσαι νέον.  
 καὶ τοῖσιν οὐδεὶς ἀντέβαινε πλὴν ἐμοῦ,  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐτόλμησ'· ἐξελυσάμην βροτοὺς 235  
 τὸ μὴ διαρραιοσθέντας εἰς Ἄιδου μολεῖν.

τῷ τοι τοιαῖσδε πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι,  
 πάσχειν μὲν ἀλγειναῖσιν, οἰκτραῖσιν δ' ἰδεῖν.  
 θνητοὺς δ' ἐν οἴκτῳ προθέμενος τούτου τυχεῖν  
 οὐκ ἠξιώθην αὐτός, ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς 240  
 ὦδ' ἐρρύθμισμαι, Ζηνὶ δυσκλεῆς θέα.

Χο. σιδηρόφρων τε κάκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος  
 δοτις, Προμηθεῦ, σοῖσιν οὐ συνασχαλᾷ  
 μόχθοις· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' ἂν εἰσιδεῖν τάδε  
 ἐχρηζον εἰσιδοῦσά τ' ἡλγύνθην κέαρ. 245

Πρ. καὶ μὴν φίλοις ἐλεινὸς εἰσορᾷν ἐγώ.

Χο. μὴ ποῦ τι προύβης τῶνδε καὶ περαιτέρω;

Πρ. θνητοὺς γ' ἔπαυσα μὴ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον.

Χο. τὸ ποῖον εὐρῶν τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου;

Πρ. τυφλὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας κατώικισα. 250

223 τιμαῖς DWP<sup>19</sup>: ποιναῖς MΨ ἐξημείψατο MΨ: ἀντημείψατο  
 LhTrī. 235 δ' ἐτόλμησ' D: δὲ τόλμης (or τολμῆς) MΦ: δ' ὁ τολμῆς  
 (or τόλμης) Ψ ἐξελυσάμην MΨ: ἐξερυσάμην Φ 236 τὸ μὴ  
 MHa: τοῦ μὴ Ψ 242 τε MΨ: τι GTri.: τοι Wilamowitz 248 γ'  
 ΔIN: om. Φ: δ' O: τ' MΨ



- Χο. μέγ' ὠφέλημα τοῦτ' ἔδωρήσω βροτοῖς.  
 Πρ. πρὸς τοῖσδε μέντοι πῦρ ἐγὼ σφιν ὤπασα.  
 Χο. καὶ νῦν φλογωπὸν πῦρ ἔχουσ' ἐφήμεροι;  
 Πρ. ἄφ' οὐ γε πολλὰς ἐκμαθήσονται τέχνας.  
 Χο. τοιοῖσδε δὴ σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιάμασιν 255  
 Πρ. αἰκίζεται γὰρ κούδαμῃ χαλαῖ κακῶν.  
 Χο. οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἄθλου τέρμα σοι προκείμενον;  
 Πρ. οὐκ ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν πλὴν ὅταν κείνῳ δοκῇ.  
 Χο. δόξει δὲ πῶς; τίς ἐλπίς; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι  
 ἡμαρτες; ὥς δ' ἡμαρτες, οὐτ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν 260  
 καθ' ἡδονὴν σοὶ τ' ἄλγος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν  
 μεθῶμεν, ἄθλου δ' ἐκλυσιν ζήτει τινά.  
 Πρ. ἐλαφρόν, ὅστις πημάτων ἔξω πόδα  
 ἔχει, παραινεῖν νοθετεῖν τε τοὺς κακῶς  
 πράσσοντας· εὐ δὲ ταῦθ' ἅπαντ' ἠπιστάμην. 265  
 ἐκὼν ἐκὼν ἡμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι·  
 θνητοῖς ἀρήγων αὐτὸς ἠύρόμην πόνους.  
 οὐ μὴν τι ποιναῖς γ' ὠϊόμην τοίαισί με  
 κατισχνανεῖσθαι πρὸς πέτραις πεδαρσίοις  
 τυχόντ' ἐρήμου τοῦδ' ἀγείτονος πάγου. 270  
 καὶ μοι τὰ μὲν παρόντα μὴ δύρεσθ' ἄχῃ,  
 πέδοι δὲ βᾶσαι τὰς προσερπούσας τύχας  
 ἀκούσαθ', ὥς μάθητε διὰ τέλους τὸ πᾶν.  
 πίθεσθέ μοι πίθεσθε, συμπονήσατε  
 τῷ νῦν μογοῦντι ταῦτ', ἐπεὶ πλανωμένη 275  
 πρὸς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον πημονὴ προσιζάνει.  
 Χο. οὐκ ἀκούσαις ἐπεθούξας  
 τοῦτο, Προμηθεῦ. καὶ νῦν ἐλαφρῶι  
 ποδὶ κραιπνόσυτον θᾶκον προλιποῦς'  
 αἰθέρα θ' ἀγνὸν πόρον οἰωνῶν 280  
 ὀκριοέσσηι χθονὶ τῇιδε πελῶ·

256 γε Ribbeck: om. Y: σε QO<sup>ac</sup>: τε MΨ 265 εὐ Elmsley: ἐγὼ Ω  
 (τόν ... πράσσοντ'· ἐγὼ Stanley) 267 θνητοῖς M: θνητοῖς δ'  
 Ψ 275 ταῦτ', ἐπεὶ Blaydes: ταῦτά τοι Ω (ταῦτά τοι schol. M)

τούς σοὺς δὲ πόνους  
χρήιζω διὰ παντὸς ἀκοῦσαι.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ἦκω δολιχῆς τέρμα κελεύθου  
διαμειψάμενος πρὸς σέ, Προμηθεῦ. 285  
τὸν περυγῶκῃ τόνδ' οἶωνόν  
γνώμηι στομίῳν ἄτερ εὐθύνων.  
ταῖς σαῖς δὲ τύχαις, ἴσθι, συναλγῶ·  
τό τε γάρ με, δοκῶ, ξυγγενὲς οὕτως  
ἔσαναγκάζει, χωρὶς τε γένους 290  
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ μείζονα μοῖραν  
νείμαιμ' ἢ σοί.  
γνώσῃ δὲ τὰδ' ὥς ἔτυμ', οὐδὲ μάτην  
χαριτογλωσσεῖν ἐνι μοι· φέρε γάρ  
σήμαιν' ὃ τι χρή σοι συμπράσσειν· 295  
οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἐρεῖς ὥς Ὀκεανοῦ  
φίλος ἐστὶ βεβαιότερός σοι.

Πρ. ἔα· τί χρήμα; καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν  
ἦκεις ἐπόπτης; πῶς ἐτόλμησας, λιπῶν  
ἐπώνυμόν τε ρεῦμα καὶ πετρηρεφῆ 300  
αὐτόκτιτ' ἄντρα, τὴν σιδηρομήτορα  
ἐλθεῖν ἐς αἶαν; ἢ θεωρήσων τύχας  
ἐμὰς ἀφῖξαι καὶ συνασχαλῶν κακοῖς;  
δέρκου θέαμα, τόνδε τὸν Διὸς φίλον,  
τὸν συγκαταστήσαντα τὴν τυραννίδα, 305  
οἶαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι.

Ωκ. ὁρῶ, Προμηθεῦ, καὶ παραινέσαι γέ σοι  
θέλω τὰ λῶιστα καίπερ ὄντι ποικίλῳ.  
γίγνωσκε σαυτὸν καὶ μεθάρμοσαι τρόπους  
νέους· νέος γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἐν θεοῖς. 310

294 Tri. (and Athen. 4.165c): σὲ τὸ (οἱ σοι, σε) χαριτογλωσσεῖν  
Ω 309 MΦ: μεθάρμοσον Ψ

- εἰ δ' ὦδε τραχεῖς καὶ τεθηγμένους λόγους  
ρίψεις, τάχ' ἂν σου καὶ μακρὰν ἀνωτέρω  
θακῶν κλύοι Ζεὺς, ὥστε σοι τὸν νῦν δχλον  
παρόντα μόχθων παιδιὰν εἶναι δοκεῖν.  
ἀλλ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἃς ἔχεις ὀργὰς ἄφες, 315  
ζήτει δὲ τῶνδε πημάτων ἀπαλλαγάς.  
ἀρχαῖ' ἴσως σοι φαίνομαι λέγειν τάδε·  
τοιαῦτα μέντοι τῆς ἄγαν ὑψηγόρου  
γλώσσης, Προμηθεῦ, τάπιχειρα γίγνεται.  
σὺ δ' οὐδέπω ταπεινός, οὐδ' εἴκεις κακοῖς, 320  
πρὸς τοῖς παροῦσι δ' ἄλλα προσλαβεῖν θέλεις.  
οὐκουν ἔμοιγε χρώμενος διδασκάλωι  
πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς, ὀρῶν ὅτι  
τραχὺς μόναρχος οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος κρατεῖ.  
καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμι καὶ πειράσομαι 325  
ἐὰν δύνωμαι τῶνδ' σ' ἐκλῦσαι πόνων·  
σὺ δ' ἡσύχαζε, μηδ' ἄγαν λαβροστόμει.  
ἢ οὐκ οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς ὦν περισσόφρων ὅτι  
γλώσσηι ματαίαι ζημία προστρίβεται;  
Πρ. ζηλῶ σ' ὀθούνεκ' ἐκτὸς αἰτίας κυρεῖς 330  
πάντων μετασχεῖν καὶ τετολμηκῶς ἐμοί·  
καὶ νῦν ἔασον μηδέ σοι μελησάτω,  
πάντως γὰρ οὐ πείσεις νιν· οὐ γὰρ εὐπιθής.  
πάπταινε δ' αὐτὸς μὴ τι πημανθήις ὁδῶι.  
Ωκ. πολλῶι γ' ἀμείνων τοὺς πέλας φρενοῦν ἔφυς 335  
ἢ σαυτόν· ἔργωι κοῦ λόγωι τεκμαίρομαι.  
ὀρμώμενον δὲ μηδαμῶς ἀντισπάσης·  
αὐχῶ γὰρ αὐχῶ τήνδε δωρειὰν ἐμοὶ  
δώσειν Δί', ὥστε τῶνδ' σ' ἐκλῦσαι πόνων.  
Πρ. τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαινῶ κούδαμῃι λήξω ποτέ, 340  
προθυμίας γὰρ οὐδέν ἐλλείπεις· ἀτὰρ

μηδὲν πόνει. μάτην γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφελῶν  
 ἔμοι πονήσεις, εἴ τι καὶ πονεῖν θέλεις.  
 ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε σαυτὸν ἐκποδὼν ἔχων·  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ, εἰ δυστυχῶ, τοῦδ' εἵνεκα 345  
 θέλοιμ' ἂν ὥς πλείστοισι πημονὰς τυχεῖν.  
 οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ με καὶ κασιγνήτου τύχαι  
 τείρουσ' Ἄτλαντος, δς πρὸς ἐσπέρους τόπους  
 ἔστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς 350  
 ὦμοιν ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον.  
 τὸν γηγενῇ τε Κιλικίων οἰκήτορα  
 ἄντρων ἰδὼν ὠικτιρα, δάιον τέρας,  
 ἑκατογκάρανον πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον,  
 Τυφῶνα θοῦρον· πᾶσιν ἀντέστη θεοῖς 355  
 σμερδναῖσι γαμφηλαῖσι συρίζων φόβον,  
 ἐξ ὀμμάτων δ' ἥστραπτε γοργωπὸν σέλας,  
 ὥς τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπέρσων βίαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος,  
 καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα,  
 δς αὐτὸν ἐξέπληξε τῶν ὑψηγόρων 360  
 κομπασμάτων· φρένας γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς τυπεῖς  
 ἐφεψαλώθη κάξεβροντήθη σθένος.  
 καὶ νῦν ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας  
 κεῖται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίου  
 ἱπούμενος ρίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο. 365  
 κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἤμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ  
 Ἥφαιστος, ἐνθεν ἐκραγήσονται ποτε  
 ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις  
 τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευροῦς γύας.  
 τοιόνδε Τυφῶς ἐξαναζέσει χόλον 370  
 θερμοῖς ἀπλάτου βέλεσι πυρπνόου ζάλης,  
 καίπερ κεραυνῷ Ζηνὸς ἠνθρακωμένος.

343 MΨ: θέλοις Φ 347 Ω: χαί Porson 350 ὦμοιν O: ὦμοις  
 MΨ 354 Wellauer: πᾶσιν δς or δς πᾶσιν Ω 355 MΦ: φόνον  
 Ψ 371 Schütz: ἀπλήστου Ω

- σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄπειρος, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ διδασκάλου  
 χρήζεις· σεαυτὸν σῶιζ' ὅπως ἐπίστασαι.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀντλήσω τύχην 375  
 ἔστ' ἂν Διὸς φρόνημα λωφήσῃ χόλου.
- Ωκ. οὐκουν, Προμηθεῦ, τοῦτο γινώσκεις, δι  
 ὀργῆς νοσοῦσης εἰσὶν ἱατροὶ λόγοι;
- Πρ. ἐάν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσῃ κέαρ  
 καὶ μὴ σφριγῶντα θυμὸν ἰσχναίνει βίαι. 380
- Ωκ. ἐν τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τολμᾶν τίνα  
 ὀρᾷς ἐνοῦσαν ζημίαν; δίδασκέ με.
- Πρ. μόχθον περισσὸν κουφόνουν τ' εὐηθίαν.
- Ωκ. ἔα με τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ νοσεῖν, ἐπεὶ  
 κέρδιστον εὖ φρονοῦντα μὴ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν. 385
- Πρ. ἐμὸν δοκήσῃ τὰμπλάκημ' εἶναι τόδε.
- Ωκ. σαφῶς μ' ἐς οἶκον σὸς λόγος στέλλει πάλιν.
- Πρ. μὴ γάρ σε θρῆνος οὐμὸς εἰς ἐχθραν βάληι.
- Πκ. ἡ τῷ νέον θακοῦντι παγκρατεῖς ἔδρας;
- Πρ. τούτου φυλάσσοι μὴ ποτ' ἀχθεσθῇ κέαρ. 390
- Ωκ. ἡ σή, Προμηθεῦ, συμφορὰ διδάσκαλος.
- Πρ. στέλλου, κομίζου, σῶιζε τὸν παρόντα νοῦν.
- Ωκ. ὀρμωμένῳ μοι τόνδ' ἐθώυξας λόγον·  
 λειρὸν γὰρ οἶμον αἰθέρος ψαίρει πτεροῖς  
 τετρασκελῆς οἰωνός· ἄσμενος δὲ τᾶν 395  
 σταθμοῖς ἐν οἰκείοισι κάμψειεν γόνυ.
- Χο. στένω σε τᾶς οὐλομένας τύχας, Προμη- [στρ. α  
 θεῦ· δακρυσίστακτον ἀπ' ὄσ-  
 σων ῥαδινῶν λειβομένα  
 ῥέος παρειᾶν νοτίοις ἔτεγξα πα- 400

378 ὀργῆς Ω: ψυχῆς Plutarch, *Mor.* 102b 384 MΨ: τήνδε τὴν νόσον  
 Φ 385 MΨ: δοκεῖν φρονεῖν Φ 386 MΨ: δοκεῖ σοι Φ 399 Φ:  
 δακρυσίστακτον δ' MΨ: -στακτα δ' Minckwitz 400 MΦ: ῥαδινόν Ψ:  
 ῥαδινὰν Hartung λειβομένα om. Tri. (cf. 409)

γαῖς· ἀμέγαρτα γὰρ τάδε  
 Ζεὺς ἰδίοις νόμοις κρατύ-  
 ων ὑπερήφανον θεοῖς  
 τοῖς πάρος ἐνδείκνυσιν αἰχμάν. 405

πρόπασα δ' ἤδη στονόεν λέλακε χώ- 409  
 ρα, μεγαλοσχήμονά τ' ἀρ-  
 χαιοπρεπῇ <— ∪ ∪ —>  
 στένουσι τὰν σὰν ξυνομαιμόνων τε τι-  
 μάν· ὅποσοι τ' ἔποικον ἀγ-  
 νᾶς Ἀσίας ἔδος νέμον-  
 ται, μεγαλοστόνοισι σοῖς  
 πῆμασι συγκάμνουσι θνατοί.

Κολχίδος τε γᾶς ἔνοικοι 416  
 παρθένοι μάχας ἄτρεστοι  
 καὶ Σκύθης ὁμιλος, οἳ γᾶς  
 ἔσχατον τόπον ἀμφὶ Μαι-  
 ῶτιν ἔχουσι λίμναν,

Ἀραβίας τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος 421  
 ὑψίκρημνον οἷ πόλισμα  
 Καυκάσου πέλας νέμονται,  
 δάιος στρατὸς ὄξυπρώι-  
 ροισι βρέμων ἐν αἰχμαῖς.

τμόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἄλλον ἐν πόνοις 426  
 δαμέντ' ἀκαμαντοδέτοις  
 Τιτᾶνα λύμαις εἰσιδόμαν θεὸν  
 Ἄτλανθ' ὃς αἰὲν ὑπέροχον σθένος κραταιὸν

409 <θ' ἐσπέριοι> Wecklein (cf. 400) 410 MΨ: στένουσα Φ 421  
 Tri. (and schol. M): ὑψίκρημνόν θ' Ω 425-30 deleted by Badham  
 425 MΦ: ἄλλων Ψ 426 MΨ: ἀδαμαντοδέτοις Φ 427 MΦ: θεῶν Ψ  
 428 Ψ: Ἄτλανθ' ὥς M ὑπέροχον Φ: ὑπεῖροχον MΨ

οὐράνιον τε πόλον  
νώτοις ὑποστεγάζει†.

430

βοᾷ δὲ πόντιος κλύδων  
ξυμπίτνων, στένει βυθός,  
κελαινὸς Ἄιδος ὑποβρέμει μυχὸς γᾶς,  
παγαί θ' ἀγνορύτων ποταμῶν  
στένουσιν ἄλγος οἰκτρὸν.

[?ἀντ. γ

435

Πρ. μή τοι χλιδῇ δοκεῖτε μηδ' αὐθαδίαί  
σιγᾶν με· συννοῖαι δὲ δάπτομαι κέαρ  
ὄρων ἑμαυτὸν ὧδε προυσελούμενον.  
καίτοι θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις τούτοις γέρα  
τίς ἄλλος ἢ ἡγὼ παντελῶς διώρισεν;  
ἀλλ' αὐτὰ σιγῶ· καὶ γὰρ εἰδυῖαισιν ἄν  
ὕμιν λέγοιμι. τὰν βροτοῖς δὲ πῆματα  
ἀκούσαθ', ὥς σφας νηπίους ὄντας τὸ πρὶν  
ἔννους ἔθηκα καὶ φρενῶν ἐπηβόλους.  
λέξω δὲ μέμψιν οὔτιν' ἀνθρώποις ἔχων,  
ἀλλ' ὧν δέδωκ' εὖνοιαν ἐξηγούμενος·  
οἱ πρῶτα μὲν βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην,  
κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ὄνειράτων  
ἀλίγκιοι μορφαῖσι τὸν μακρὸν βίον  
ἔφυρον εἰκῇ πάντα, κοῦτε πλινθυφεῖς  
δόμους προσείλους ἤισαν, οὐ ξυλουργίαν,  
κατώρυχες δ' ἔναιον ὥστ' ἀήσυροι  
μύρμηκες ἀντρων ἐν μυχοῖς ἀνηλίοις.  
ἦν δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ  
οὔτ' ἀνθεμῶδους ἥρος οὔτε καρπίμου  
θέρους βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἄτερ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν  
ἔπρασσον, ἔστε δὴ σφιν ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ  
ἄστρων ἔδειξα τὰς τε δυσκρίτους δύσεις.

440

445

450

455

430 B: ὑποστενάζει MΨ    432 Ψ: βαθύς MH    433 Lachmann:  
κελαινὸς δ' Ω    γᾶς del. Wilamowitz    449 MΨ: χρόνον Φ



καὶ μὴν ἀριθμόν, ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων,  
ἔξηϋρον αὐτοῖς, γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις, 460

μνήμην ἀπάντων, μουσομήτορ' ἐργάνηψ'  
κᾶζευξα πρῶτος ἐν ζυγοῖσι κνώδαλα  
ζεύγλαισι δουλεύοντα σάγμασιν θ', ὅπως  
θνητοῖς μεγίστων διάδοχοι μοχθημάτων  
γένοινθ', ὕφ' ἄρμα τ' ἡγαγον φιληνίους 465

ἵππους, ἄγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλούτου χλιδῆς·  
θαλασσόπλαγκτα δ' οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ  
λινόπτερ' ἠϋρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα.  
τοιαῦτα μηχανήματ' ἐξευρών τάλας  
βροτοῖσιν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ' ὅτῳ 470

τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς ἀπαλλαγῶ.  
Χο. πέπονθας αἰκὲς πῆμ'· ἀποσφαλεῖς φρενῶν  
πλανᾷ, κακὸς δ' ἱατρὸς ὥς τις ἐς νόσον  
πεσὼν ἀθυμεῖς, καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχεις  
εὔρεῖν ὁποίοις φαρμάκοις ἰάσιμος. 475

Πρ. τὰ λοιπά μου κλύουσα θαυμάσῃ πλέον,  
οἷας τέχνας τε καὶ πόρους ἐμησάμην·  
τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, εἴ τις ἐς νόσον πέσοι,  
οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξῃμ' οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώσιμον  
οὐ χριστὸν οὐδὲ πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων 480

χρεῖαι κατεσκέλλοντο, πρὶν γ' ἐγὼ σφισιν  
ἔδειξα κράσεις ἡπίων ἀκεσμάτων,  
αἷς τὰς ἀπάσας ἐξαμύνονται νόσους·  
τρόπους δὲ πολλοὺς μαντικῆς ἐστοίχισα,  
κᾶκρινα πρῶτος ἐξ ὄνειράτων ἃ χρὴ 485

ὑπαρ γενέσθαι, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους  
ἐγνώρισ' αὐτοῖς ἐνοδίους τε συμβόλους,  
γαμψωνύχων τε πτησιν οἰωνῶν σκεθρῶς  
διώρισ', οἵτινές τε δεξιοὶ φύσιν

461 μνήμην IΔM<sup>ac</sup> (and Stobaeus 2.4.2): μνήμην θ' MΨ ἐργάνην  
M<sup>ac</sup> (and Stobaeus): ἐργάτιν MΨ 463 MΨ: δουλεύσοντα O  
σάγμασιν Pauw: σώμασιν Ω 472 Porson: αἰκὲς Ω 484 Ψ: τε  
MΦ

- εὐωνύμους τε, καὶ δίαιταν ἦντινα 490  
 ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες  
 ἔχθραι τε καὶ στέργηθρα καὶ συνεδρίαί·  
 σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα, καὶ χροιάν τίνα  
 ἔχουσ' ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν  
 χολή, λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν· 495  
 κνίσσηι τε κῶλα συγκαλυπτὰ καὶ μακρὰν  
 ὀσφὺν πυρώσας δυστέκμαρτον εἰς τέχνην  
 ὤδωσα θνητούς, καὶ φλογωπὰ σήματα  
 ἐξωμμάτωσα πρόσθεν ὄντ' ἐπάργεμα.  
 τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'· ἔνερθε δὲ χθονὸς 500  
 κεκρυμμέν' ἀνθρώποισιν ὠφελήματα,  
 χαλκὸν σίδηρον ἄργυρον χρυσόν τε, τίς  
 φήσειεν ἂν πάροιθεν ἐξευρεῖν ἐμοῦ;  
 οὐδεῖς, σάφ' οἶδα, μὴ μάτην φλῦσαι θέλων.  
 βραχεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πάντα συλλήβδην μάθε· 505  
 πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως.  
 Χο. μὴ νυν βροτούς μὲν ὠφέλει καιροῦ πέρα,  
 σαυτοῦ δ' ἀκήδει δυστυχοῦντος· ὥς ἐγὼ  
 εὐελπίς εἰμι τῶνδ' ἐσ' ἐκ δεσμῶν ἔτι  
 λυθέντα μηδὲν μείον ἰσχύσειν Διός. 510  
 Πρ. οὐ ταῦτα ταύτῃ μοῖρά πω τελεσφόρος  
 κρᾶναι πέπρωται, μυρίαῖς δὲ πημοναῖς  
 δύαις τε καμφθεῖς ὥδε δεσμὰ φυγάνω.  
 τέχνη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῶι.  
 Χο. τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστροφος; 515  
 Πρ. Μοῖραι τρίμορφοι μνήμονές τ' Ἑρινύες.  
 Χο. τούτων ἄρα Ζεὺς ἐστὶν ἀσθενέστερος;  
 Πρ. οὐκ οὖν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.  
 Χο. τί γὰρ πέπρωται Ζηνὶ πλήν ἀεὶ κρατεῖν;  
 Πρ. τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πύθοιο, μηδὲ λιπάρει. 520

494-5 Wieseler: ἔχοντ' ... χολῆς Ω (χολή B) 502 τε I: δὲ  
 ΜΨ 505 Ψ: ταῦτα ΜΦ 513 Ψ: κναμφθεῖς IM: κναφθεῖς Naber  
 520 οὐκέτ' ἂν Φ: οὐκ ἂν οὖν or οὐκ ἂν ΜΨ: οὐκ ἂν ἐκ (πύθοιο) G

- Χο. ἤ πού τι σεμνόν ἐστιν δ' ξυναμπέχεις;  
 Πρ. ἄλλου λόγου μέμνησθε, τόνδε δ' οὐδαμῶς  
 καιρὸς γεγωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυπτέος  
 ὅσον μάλιστα. τόνδε γὰρ σώιζων ἐγὼ  
 δεσμοὺς ἀεικεῖς καὶ δῦας ἐκφυγγάνω. 525
- Χο. μηδὰμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων [στρ. α  
 θεῖτ' ἐμαῖ γνώμαι κράτος ἀντίπαλον Ζεὺς,  
 μηδ' ἐλινύσαιμι θεοὺς ὅσiais  
 θοίναις ποτινισομένα 530  
 βουφόνους παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ πατρός ἄσβεστον πόρον,  
 μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις,  
 ἀλλὰ μοι τόδ' ἐμμένοι καὶ μήποτ' ἐκτακείη. 535
- ἡδὺ τι θαρσαλέαις [ἀντ. α  
 τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπίσι, φαναῖς  
 θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσιν ἐν εὐφροσύναις·  
 φρίσσω δέ σε δερκομένα 540  
 μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον < — — — >.  
 Ζῆνα γὰρ οὐ τρομέων  
 τίδισαι γνώμαι· σέβῃ θνατοὺς ἄγαν, Προμηθεῦ.
- φέρ' ὅπως χάρις ἂ χάρις, ὦ φίλος. [στρ. β  
 εἶπέ, ποῦ τις ἀλκά; 546  
 τίς ἐφαμερίων ἄρηξις; οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης  
 ὀλιγοδρανίαν ἄκιυν, ἰσόνειρον, αἰ τὸ φωτῶν  
 ἀλαὸν γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον; οὐποτε 550  
 τὰν Διὸς ἀρμονίαν θνατῶν παρεξίασι βουλαί.
- ἔμαθον τάδε σὰς προσιδουῖς' ὅλο- [ἀντ. β  
 ἄς τύχας, Προμηθεῦ,

535 Ω: μάλα μοι Hermann: βάλε μοι Maas (cf. 544) 541 (c.g.)  
 θνατῶν χάριν Tommasini (cf. 531) 544 Ω: οἰκείαι γνώμαι Tri.  
 545 Ω: φέρε πῶς Sikes and Willson ἂ χάρις Headlam: ἄχαρις Ω  
 (ἄχαρις χάρις Tri.)

τὸ διαμφίδιον δέ μοι μέλος προσέπτα 555  
 τόδ' ἐκεῖνό θ' ὃ τ' ἀμφὶ λουτρά καὶ λέχος σὸν ὕμεναίου  
 ἰότατι γάμων, ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον  
 ἄγαγες Ἑσιόναν πιθὼν δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον. 560

## Ω

τίς γῆ; τί γένος; τίνα φῶ λεύσσειν  
 τόνδε χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν  
 χειμαζόμενον; τίνος ἀμπλακίας  
 ποινὰς ὀλέκη; σήμενον ὅποι  
 γῆς ἢ μογερὰ πεπλάνημαι. 565

ἃ ἃ ἔξ·  
 χρίει τις αὐτὴν μετὰ τὴν τάλαιναν οἴστρος,  
 εἰδωλὸν Ἄργου γηγενοῦς.  
 ἄλευ', ἃ δᾶ, φοβοῦμαι  
 τὸν μυριωπὸν εἰσορῶσα βούταν·  
 ὃ δὲ πορεύεται δόλιον ὄμμ' ἔχων,  
 ὃν οὐδὲ κατθανόντα γαῖα κεύθει· 570  
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν τάλαιναν  
 ἐξ ἐνέρων περὼν κυνηγετεῖ πλανᾷ  
 τε νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὴν παραλίαν ψάμμον.

ὑπὸ δὲ κηρόπλαστος ὀτοβεῖ δόναξ 575 [στρ. α  
 ἀχέτας ὑπνοδόταν νόμον· 575  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ πόποι, ποῖ μ' ἄγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι;  
 τί ποτέ μ', ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ, τί ποτε ταῖσδ'  
 ἐνέζευξας εὐρὼν ἀμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναῖσιν,  
 ἔξ, οἴστρηλάτῳ δὲ δείματι δειλαίαν 580  
 παράκοπον ὥδε τείρεις;

558 Lachmann: ὁμοπάτριον ἔδνοις Ω (cf. 550) 567 MΨ: Ya omits φοβοῦμαι (so too Dindorf) 572 Ω: κυναγεῖ Hermann 573 Ψ: ψάμμον M<sup>ac</sup> 576 MΨ: ἄγουσ' αἰ Δ: ἄγουσ' αἰδε Mazon (cf. 595)

πυρί <με> φλέξον, ἥ χθονὶ κάλυψον, ἥ ποντίοις δάκεσι δὸς  
βορυν·

μηδέ μοι φθονήσης  
εὐγμάτων, ἄναξ· ἄδην με πολύπλανοι πλάναι 585  
γεγυμνάκασιν, οὐδ' ἔχω μαθεῖν ὅπαι  
πημονὰς ἀλύξω.  
κλύεις φθέγμα τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου;

Πρ. πῶς δ' οὐ κλύω τῆς οἰστροδινῆτου κόρης  
τῆς Ἰναχείας, ἥ Διὸς θάλπει κέαρ 590  
ἔρωτι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς ὑπερμήκεις δρόμους  
Ἦραι στυγητὸς πρὸς βίαν γυμνάζεται;

Ιω πόθεν ἐμοῦ σὺ πατρὸς ὄνομ' ἀπύεις; [ἀντ. α  
εἰπέ μοι τᾷ μογεραῖ, τίς ὢν.  
τίς ἄρα μ', ὦ τάλας τὰν τάλαιναν ᾧδ' ἔτυμα προσθροεῖς 595  
θεόσυτόν τε νόσον ὠνόμασας, ἃ  
μαραίνει με χρίουσα κέντροισι φοιταλέοισιν;  
ἔξ·

σκιρτημάτων δὲ νήστισιν αἰκείαις  
λαβρόσυτος ἦλθον <Ἦρας> 600  
ἐπικότοισι μήδεσι δαμεῖσα. δυσδαιμόνων δὲ τίνες, οἳ ἔξ,  
οἳ' ἐγὼ μογοῦσιν;

ἀλλά μοι τορῶς τέκμηρον ὃ τι μ' ἐπαμμένει 605  
παθεῖν· τί μῆχαρ ἦ τί φάρμακον νόσου;  
δειξον εἴπερ οἶσθα,  
θρόει, φράζε τᾷ δυσπλάνωι παρθένωι.

Πρ. λέξω τορῶς σοι πᾶν ὅπερ χρήζεις μαθεῖν,  
οὐκ ἐμπλέκων αἰνίγματ', ἀλλ' ἀπλῶι λόγῳ 610  
ὥσπερ δίκαιον πρὸς φίλους οἴγειν στόμα·  
πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὁρᾷς Προμηθεά.

582 με supplied by Elmsley 595 Wilamowitz: τὰν ταλαίπωρον Ω:  
ταλαίπωρον Hartung (cf. 576) 600 Ἦρας supplied by Hermann (cf.  
581) 606 μῆχαρ ἦ Elmsley, Martin: μῆ (or με, μοι, οὐ) χρή Ω  
609 ὅπερ gloss in BCYV (also *Etym. Magn.* s.v. τορός): ὅσον Υ: δ or δ τι  
MΨ

- Ιω ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα θνητοῖσιν φανείς,  
 τλήμον Προμηθεῦ, τοῦ δίκην πάσχεις τάδε;  
 Πρ. ἄρμοι πέπαυμαι τοὺς ἐμούς θρηνῶν πόνους. 615  
 Ιω οὐκουν πόροις ἂν τήνδε δωρειὰν ἐμοί;  
 Πρ. λέγ' ἦντιν' αἰτῇ· πᾶν γὰρ ἂν πύθοιό μου.  
 Ιω σήμενον δστις ἐν φάραγγί σ' ὥχμασεν.  
 Πρ. βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Δῖον, Ἑφαίστου δὲ χεῖρ.  
 Ιω ποινὰς δὲ ποίων ἀμπλακημάτων τίνεις; 620  
 Πρ. τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι σαφηνίσας μόνον.  
 Ιω καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις τέρμα τῆς ἐμῆς πλάνης  
 δεῖξον, τίς ἔσται τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ χρόνος.  
 Πρ. τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν σοι κρεῖσσον ἢ μαθεῖν τάδε.  
 Ιω μὴ τοί με κρύψῃς τοῦθ', ὅπερ μέλλω παθεῖν. 625  
 Πρ. ἄλλ' οὐ μεγαίρω τοῦδε τοῦ δωρήματος.  
 Ιω τί δῆτα μέλλεις μὴ οὐ γεγωνίσκειν τὸ πᾶν;  
 Πρ. φθόνος μὲν οὐδεῖς, σὰς δ' ὀκνῶ θράξαι φρένας.  
 Ιω μὴ μου προκῆδου μᾶσσον, ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ.  
 Πρ. ἐπεὶ προθυμῇ, χρὴ λέγειν· ἄκουε δῆ. 630  
 Χο. μήπω γε, μοῖραν δ' ἡδονῆς κάμοι πόρε·  
 τὴν τῆσδε πρῶτον ἱστορήσωμεν νόσον  
 αὐτῆς λεγούσης τὰς πολυφθόρους τύχας,  
 τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἄθλων σοῦ διδαχθήτω πάρα.  
 Πρ. σὸν ἔργον, Ἰοῖ, ταῖσδ' ὑπουργῆσαι χάριν, 635  
 ἄλλως τε πάντως καὶ κασιγνήταις πατρός·  
 ὥς ἀποκλαῦσαι κάποδύρασθαι τύχας  
 ἐνταῦθ', ὅπου μέλλοι τις οἴσεσθαι δάκρυ  
 πρὸς τῶν κλυόντων, ἀξίαν τριβὴν ἔχει.  
 Ιω οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀπιστῆσαί με χρή, 640  
 σαφεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πᾶν ὅπερ προσχρήζετε  
 πεύσεσθε· καίτοι καὶ λέγουσ' ὀδύρομαι

614 δίκην MΨ: χάριν Φ      617 ἂν P γρ.: Ψ omit (οὖν M): ἐκπύθοιο Φ  
 619 MΨ: μέντοι τὸ Φ: μέντοι Blaydes      621 Linwood: σαφηνίσαι Ω  
 626 τοῦ Ω: σοι Turnebus (gloss in Δ)      627 MΦ: M<sup>ac</sup>Ψ omit οὐ  
 629 ὥς Ω: ὦν Hermann: ἥ ὥς Turnebus      638 MΦ: μέλλει Ψ      642  
 MΨ: αἰσχύνομαι ΦM<sup>TP</sup>

θεόσσυτον χειμῶνα καὶ διαφθορὰν  
 μορφῆς, ὅθεν μοι σχετλῖαι προσέπτατο.  
 αἰεὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἔννυχοι πωλεύμεναι 645  
 ἐς παρθενῶνας τοὺς ἐμοὺς παρηγόρουν  
 λείοισι μύθοις· ὦ μέγ' εὐδαιμον κόρη,  
 τί παρθελεύῃ δαρὸν, ἐξὸν σοι γάμου  
 τυχεῖν μεγίστου; Ζεὺς γὰρ ἱμέρου βέλει  
 πρὸς σοῦ τέθαλπται καὶ συναίρεσθαι Κύπριν 650  
 θέλει· σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ ἵπολακτίσης λέχος  
 τὸ Ζηνός, ἀλλ' ἐξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν  
 λειμῶνα, ποιμένας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός,  
 ὥς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πόθου.  
 τοιοῖσδε πάσας εὐφρόνας ὀνείρασι 655  
 ξυνειχόμεν δύστηνος, ἔστε δὴ πατρὶ  
 ἔτλην γεγωνεῖν νυκτίφοιτ' ὀνείρατα·  
 ὁ δ' ἐς τε Πυθῶ καπὶ Δωδώνης πυκνοὺς  
 θεοπρόπους ἱαλλεν, ὥς μάθοι τί χρῆ  
 δρῶντ' ἢ λέγοντα δαίμοσιν πράσσειν φίλα. 660  
 ἦκον δ' ἀναγγέλλοντες αἰολοστόμους  
 χρησμούς, ἀσήμους δυσκρίτως τ' εἰρημένους.  
 τέλος δ' ἐναργῆς βάξις ἦλθεν Ἰνάχῳ  
 σαφῶς ἐπισκῆπτουσα καὶ μυθουμένη  
 ἔξω δόμων τε καὶ πάτρας ὠθεῖν ἐμέ 665  
 ἄφετον ἀλᾶσθαι γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὄροις·  
 κεῖ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν  
 κεραυνὸν ὃς πᾶν ἐξαιστώσει γένος.  
 τοιοῖσδε πεισθεὶς Λοξίου μαντεύμασιν  
 ἐξήλασέν με κάπέκλησε δωμάτων 670  
 ἄκουσαν ἄκων· ἀλλ' ἐπηνάγκαζέ νιν  
 Διὸς χαλινὸς πρὸς βίαν πράσσειν τάδε.  
 εὐθύς δέ μορφὴ καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι

657 Ψ: νυκτίφαντ' IM

658 ΜΨ: Δωδώνην Φ

662 ΜΨ: ἀσήμως Φ

663 ΜΨ: ἦλθε βάξις Φ

667 ΜΨ: εἰ μὴ Φ

668 Ω: ἐξαιστώσοι



ἦσαν, κεραστὶς δ', ὡς ὀράτ', ὀξυστόμωι  
 μύωπι χρισθεῖς· ἔμμανεῖ σκιρτήματι 675  
 ἦισσον πρὸς εὐποτόν τε Κερχνείας ῥέος  
 Λέρνης τε κρήνην· βουκόλος δὲ γηγενῆς  
 ἄκρατος ὀργὴν Ἄργος ὠμάρτει πυκνοῖς  
 ὄσσοις δεδορκῶς τοὺς ἔμοὺς κατὰ στίβους.  
 ἀπροσδοκῆτως δ' αἰφνίδιος αὐτὸν μόρος 680  
 τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν, οἴστροπλήξ δ' ἐγὼ  
 μάστιγι θεῖαι γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.  
 κλύεις τὰ πραχθέντ'· εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὃ τι  
 λοιπὸν πόνων, σήμαινε, μηδέ μ' οἰκτίσας  
 ξύνθαλπε μύθοις ψευδέσιν· νόσημα γὰρ 685  
 αἴσχιστον εἶναι φημι συνθέτους λόγους.

Χο.                    ἔα ἔα· ἀπεχε, φεῦ·  
                          οὐποθ' <ὦδ'> οὐποτ' ἠϋχουν ξένους  
 μολεῖσθαι λόγους ἐς ἀκοὰν ἐμάν,  
 οὐδ' ὦδε δυσθέατα καὶ δύσοιστα 690  
 † πῆματα λύματα δείματ'  
                          ἀμφήκει κέντρωι ψύχειν ψυχὰν ἐμάν †.  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ μοῖρα μοῖρα,  
 πέφρικ' εἰσιδοῦσα πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς. 695

Πρ.    πρώι γε στενάξεις καὶ φόβου πλέα τις εἴ·  
           ἐπίσχες ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσμάθης.

Χο.    λέγ', ἐκδίδασκε· τοῖς νοσοῦσί τοι γλυκὺ  
           τὸ λοιπὸν ἄλγος προυξεπίστασθαι τορῶς.

676 ΜΦ: Κεγχρείας or Κεχρείας Ψ    677 τε κρήνην Canter: ἄκρην (or  
 ἄκραν, ἄκρον) τε ΜΨ (Φ omit τε): τ' ἐς ἀκτὴν Reisig    680 ἀ-  
 προσδοκῆτως Griffith: -ητος Ω αὐτὸν αἰφνίδιος Ω: corrected by  
 Porson    683-4 Φ: ἔτι | λοιπὸν πόνον ΜΨ    688 Wecklein: οὐποτ'  
 οὐποτ' ΜΨ: οὐπώποτ' V    690 Ψ: ΜΦ omit καὶ    691 ΜΨ:  
 δείματα λύματα Υ: δείματα deleted by Hermann (either λυμ- or δειμ-  
 omitted in Q<sup>ac</sup>): δείματ' ἂν Sikes and Willson    692 ψύχειν Ω: τύψειν  
 Wilamowitz

Πρ. τὴν πρίν γε χρεῖαν ἠνύσασθ' ἐμοῦ πάρα  
 κούφως· μαθεῖν γὰρ τῆσδε πρῶτ' ἐχρήριζετε  
 τὸν ἄμφ' ἑαυτῆς ἄθλον ἐξηγουμένης·  
 τὰ λοιπὰ νῦν ἀκούσαθ' οἷα χρή πάθη  
 τλῆναι πρὸς Ἥρας τήνδε τὴν νεάνίδα.  
 σύ τ', Ἰνάχειον σπέρμα, τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους  
 θυμῶι βάλ', ὥς ἂν τέρματ' ἐκμάθῃς ὁδοῦ.  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθένδ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς  
 στρέψασα σαυτὴν στεῖχ' ἀνηρότους γύας·  
 Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξῃ νομάδας, οἱ πλεκτὰς στέγας  
 πεδάρσοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις,  
 ἐκηβόλοις τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι·  
 οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀλιστόνοις πόδας  
 χρίμπουσα βραχίαισιν ἐκπερᾶν χθόνα.  
 λαιᾶς δὲ χειρὸς οἱ σιδηροτέκτονες  
 οἰκοῦσι Χάλυβες, οὓς φυλάξασθαί σε χρή.  
 ἀνήμεροι γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσπλατοι ξένοις.  
 ἦξεις δ' Ὑβριστὴν ποταμὸν οὐ ψευδώνυμον·  
 ὃν μὴ περάσῃς, οὐ γὰρ εὐβατος περᾶν,  
 πρίν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν Καύκασον μόλῃς, ὄρων  
 ὕψιστον, ἔνθα ποταμὸς ἐκφυσᾷ μένος  
 κροτάφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ἀστρογεῖτονας δὲ χρή  
 κορυφὰς ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἐς μεσημβρινὴν  
 βῆναι κέλευθον, ἐνθ' Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν  
 ἦξεις στυγάνορ', αἱ Θεμίσκυράν ποτε  
 κατοικιοῦσιν ἀμφὶ Θερμῶδονθ', ἵνα  
 τραχεῖα πόντου Σαλμυδησσία γνάθος  
 ἐχθρόξενος ναύτησι, μητρὶά νεῶν·  
 αὐταὶ σ' ὁδηγήσουσι καὶ μάλ' ἀσμένως.  
 ἰσθμὸν δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς στενοπόροις λίμνης πύλαις

705 ΜΨ: σὺ δ' Φ    707 ΜΦ: ἀνατολὰς Ψ    711 Υ: ἐξαρτημένοι ΜΨ  
 712 πόδας Φ: γυιπόδας Υ: γυπόδας ΜΨ: (ἀλλὰ γυῖ ἀλιστόνοις  
 Hermann)    720-1 Bolton inserts fr. XI (fr. 195 N) after 720    722  
 Ω: ὑπερβαλοῦσαν Groeneboom (-βάλουσαν Δ<sup>ac</sup> Lc<sup>ac</sup>)    729 ΜΨ:  
 στενοπόρου Φ

- Κιμμερικὸν ἦξεις, ὃν θρασυσπλάγχνως σε χρή  
 λιποῦσαν αὐλῶν' ἐκπερᾶν Μαιωτικόν. 730
- ἔσται δὲ θνητοῖς εἰσαεὶ λόγος μέγας  
 τῆς σῆς πορείας, Βόσπορος δ' ἐπώνυμος  
 κεκλήσεται. λιποῦσα δ' Εὐρώπης πέδον  
 ἥπειρον ἦξεις Ἀσιάδ'. ἀρ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ 735  
 ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος ἐς τὰ πάνθ' ὁμῶς  
 βίαιος εἶναι; τῇδε γάρ θνητῇ θεὸς  
 χρήζων μιγῆναι τάσδ' ἐπέρριπεν πλάνας.  
 πικροῦ δ' ἔκυρσας, ὦ κόρη, τῶν σῶν γάμων  
 μνηστῆρος· οὕς γάρ νῦν ἀκήκοας λόγους 740  
 εἶναι δόκει σοι μηδέπω ἔν προσιμίῳ.
- Ιω ἰὼ μοί μοι· ἔξ.
- Πρ. σὺ δ' αὖτέ κ' ἐκκραγας κἀναμυχθίζῃ· τί που  
 δράσεις δταν τὰ λοιπὰ πυθάνῃ κακά;
- Χο. ἢ γάρ τι λοιπὸν τῇδε πημάτων ἔρεῖς; 745
- Πρ. δυσχεΐμερόν γε πέλαγος ἀτηρᾶς δύης.
- Ιω τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει  
 ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτὴν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στύφλου πέτρας,  
 ὅπως πέδοι σκήψασα τῶν πάντων πόνων  
 ἀπηλλάγην; κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν 750  
 ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.
- Πρ. ἢ δυσπετῶς ἂν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις,  
 δτωι θανεῖν μὲν ἔστιν οὐ πεπρωμένον·  
 αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγή·  
 νῦν δ' οὐδέν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον 755  
 μόχθων πρὶν ἂν Ζεὺς ἐκπέσῃ τυραννίδος.
- Ιω ἢ γάρ ποτ' ἔστιν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀρχῆς Δία;
- Πρ. ἦδοι' ἂν, οἶμαι, τήνδ' ἰδοῦσα συμφοράν.
- Ιω πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν, ἦτις ἐκ Διὸς πάσχω κακῶς;
- Πρ. ὥς τοίνυν ὄντων τῶνδε γαθεῖν σοι πάρα. 760

741 Turnebus: μηδ' ἐπὶ ὦν Ω 749 Dindorf: πέδω Ω (cf. 272) 752  
 Ω: τοὺς γ' ἐμοὺς Headlam 759 MΨ: BH omit δ' 760 Zakas  
 (γηθεῖν Schütz): μαθεῖν σοι MΨ: σοι μαθεῖν I Tri.

- Ιω πρὸς τοῦ τύραννα σκῆπτρα συληθήσεται;  
 Πρ. πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κενοφρόνων βουλευμάτων.  
 Ιω ποίωι τρόπῳ; σήμενον. εἰ μή τις βλάβη.  
 Πρ. γαμεῖ γάμον τοιοῦτον ὧι ποτ' ἀσχαλᾷ.  
 Ιω θέορτον ἢ βρότειον; εἰ ῥητόν, φράσον. 765  
 Πρ. τί δ' ὄντιν'; οὐ γὰρ ῥητόν αὐδᾶσθαι τόδε.  
 Ιω ἢ πρὸς δάμαρτος ἐξανίσταται θρόνων;  
 Πρ. ἢ τέξεται γε παῖδα φέρτερον πατρός.  
 Ιω οὐδ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ τῆσδ' ἀποστροφὴ τύχης;  
 Πρ. οὐ δῆτα, πλὴν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθείς. 770  
 Ιω τίς οὖν ὁ λύσων ἔστιν ἄκοντος Διός;  
 Πρ. τῶν σῶν τιν' αὐτὸν ἐκγόνων εἶναι χρεών.  
 Ιω πῶς εἶπας; ἢ ἴμος παῖς σ' ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν;  
 Πρ. τρίτος γε γένναν πρὸς δέκ' ἄλλαισιν γοναῖς.  
 Ιω ἦδ' οὐκέτ' εὐξύμβλητος ἢ χρησμοιδία. 775  
 Πρ. καὶ μηδὲ σαυτῆς γ' ἐκμαθεῖν ζῆτει πόνους.  
 Ιω μή μοι προτείνων κέρδος εἴτ' ἀποστέρει.  
 Πρ. δυοῖν λόγοιν σε θατέρῳι δωρήσομαι.  
 Ιω ποίοιν; πρόδειξον αἵρεσίν τ' ἔμοι δίδου.  
 Πρ. δίδωμ'· ἐλοῦ γάρ· ἢ πόνων τὰ λοιπά σοι 780  
 φράσω σαφηνῶς ἢ τὸν ἐκλύσοντ' ἐμέ.  
 Χο. τούτων σὺ τὴν μὲν τῆιδε, τὴν δ' ἔμοι χάριν  
 θέσθαι θέλησον, μηδ' ἀτιμάσης λόγου,  
 καὶ τῆιδε μὲν γέγωνε τὴν λοιπὴν πλάνην,  
 ἔμοι δὲ τὸν λύσοντα· τοῦτο γὰρ ποθῶ. 785  
 Πρ. ἐπεὶ προθυμεῖσθ', οὐκ ἐναντιώσομαι  
 τὸ μὴ οὐ γεγωνεῖν πᾶν ὅσον προσχρήζετε.  
 σοὶ πρῶτον, Ἰοῖ, πολύδονον πλάνην φράσω,  
 ἣν ἐγγράφου σὺ μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν.  
 δταν περάσης ρεῖθρον ἡπείρων ὄρον, 790

762 MΦ: αὐτὸς πρὸς Ψ      764 Ω: ἀσχαλεῖ Herwerden      766 MΨ:  
 τάδε Φ      770 πλὴν MΦ: πρὶν (or πρὶν γ') Ψ      λυθείς MΦ: λυθῶ Ψ  
 771 MΨ: λύσων σ' Φ      776 γ' Hermann: τ' MΦ: omitted in Ψ  
 780 Ω: εἰ Blaydes      783 Elmsley: λόγους Ω      787 MΦ: M<sup>ac</sup>Ψ omit  
 οὐ

πρὸς ἀντολὰς φλογῶπας ἡλίου στίβει,  
 πόντον περῶσ' ἄφλοισβον, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξίκηι  
 πρὸς Γοργόνεια πεδία Κισθήνης, ἵνα  
 αἱ Φορκίδες ναίουσι, δηναιαὶ κόραι  
 τρεῖς κυκνόμορφοι, κοινὸν ὄμμ' ἔκτημένοι, 795  
 μονόδοντες, ἃς οὐθ' ἥλιος προσδέσκεται  
 ἀκτῖσιν οὐθ' ἢ νύκτερος μήνη ποτέ·  
 πέλας δ' ἀδελφαὶ τῶνδε τρεῖς κατάπτεροι,  
 δρακοντόμαλλοι Γοργόνες βροτοστυγεῖς,  
 ἃς θνητὸς οὐδεὶς εἰσιδὼν ἔξει πνοάς. 800  
 τοιοῦτο μὲν σοι τοῦτο φρούριον λέγω,  
 ἄλλην δ' ἄκουσον δυσχερῇ θεωρίαν·  
 ὀξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας  
 γρυπας φύλαξαι, τὸν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν  
 Ἄριμασπὸν ἵποβάμον', οἱ χρυσόρρυτον 805  
 οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρου·  
 τούτοις σὺ μὴ πέλαζε· τηλουρὸν δέ γῃν  
 ἤξεις, κελαινὸν φύλον, οἱ πρὸς ἡλίου  
 ναίουσι πηγαῖς, ἔνθα ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ·  
 τούτου παρ' ὀχθας ἔρφ' ἕως ἂν ἐξίκηι 810  
 καταβασμόν, ἔνθα Βυβλίνων ὀρῶν ἀπο  
 ἴησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὐποτον ῥέος.  
 οὗτός σ' ὀδώσει τὴν τρίγωνον ἐς χθόνα  
 Νειλῶτιν, οὐ δὴ τὴν μακρὰν ἀποικίαν,  
 Ἰοῖ, πέπρωται σοὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις κτίσαι. 815  
 τῶνδ' εἴ τί σοι ψελλὸν τε καὶ δυσεύρετον,  
 ἐπανδίπλαζε καὶ σαφῶς ἐκμάνθανε·  
 σχολὴ δὲ πλείων ἢ θέλω πάρεστί μοι.  
 Χο. εἰ μὲν τι τῇδε λοιπὸν ἢ παρειμένον  
 ἔχεις γεγωνεῖν τῆς πολυφθόρου πλάνης, 820  
 λέγ'· εἰ δὲ πάντ' εἴρηκας ἡμῖν αὐτὴ χάριν

791 Hartung: ἡλιοστιβεῖς Ω    792 MΦ: πόντου Ψ    περῶσ' ἄφλοισ-  
 βον Girard: περῶσα φλοῖσβον Ω    801 Ω: φροίμιον Wakefield  
 811 Ψ: Βιβλίνων MΦ    817 Dindorf: ἐπαναδίπλαζε Ω

δὸς ἦνπερ αἰτούμεσθα· μέμνησαι δέ που.

Πρ. τὸ πᾶν πορείας ἦδε τέρμ' ἀκήκοεν·

ὅπως δ' ἂν εἰδῇ μὴ μάτην κλύουσά μου,

ἃ πρὶν μολεῖν δεῦρ' ἐκμεμόχθηκεν φράσω,

825

τεκμήριον τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δοὺς μύθων ἐμῶν.

ὄχλον μὲν οὖν τὸν πλεῖστον ἐκλείψω λόγων,

πρὸς αὐτὸ δ' εἰμι τέρμα σῶν πλανημάτων.

ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ γάπεδα

τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἄμφι Δωδώνην, ἵνα

830

μαντεῖα θᾶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διὸς

τέρας τ' ἄπιστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες,

ὕφ' ὧν σὺ λαμπρῶς κούδεν αἰνικτηρίως

προσηγορεύθης ἢ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ

μέλλουσ' ἔσεσθαι – τῶνδε προσσαίνει σέ τι; –

835

έντεῦθεν οἰστρήσασα τὴν παρακτίαν

κέλευθον ἦξας πρὸς μέγαν κόλπον Ῥέας,

ἄφ' οὗ παλιμπλάγκτοισι χειμάζῃ δρόμοις·

χρόνον δέ τὸν μέλλοντα πόντιος μυχός,

σαφῶς ἐπίστας', Ἴόνιος κεκλήσεται,

840

τῆς σῆς πορείας μνῆμα τοῖς πᾶσιν βροτοῖς.

σημεῖά σοι τάδ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φρενός,

ὥς δέρεται πλέον τι τοῦ πεφασμένου.

τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ὑμῖν τῇδ' ἐς κοινὸν φράσω,

ἐς ταῦτόν ἐλθὼν τῶν πάλαι λόγων ἵχνος.

845

ἔστιν πόλις Κάνωβος, ἐσχάτη χθονὸς

Νείλου πρὸς αὐτῷ στόματι καὶ προσχώματι·

ένταῦθα δὴ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἐμφρονα

ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγῶν μόνον·

ἐπώνυμον δέ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων

850

τέξεις κελαινὸν Ἐπαφον, ὃς καρπώσεται

δσὴν πλατύρρους Νεῖλος ἀρδεύει χθόνα·

822 ἦνπερ (or ἦν πρὶν ἡιτούμεσθα) Hermann: ἦντιν' Ω  
 δάπεδα Ω 831 Brunck: θῶκος Ω (cf. 279)  
 ἐγκύμονα Elmsley 850 Ω: γέννημ' ἀφῶν Wieseler

829 Porson:  
 848 Ω: τίθησ'

πέμπτη δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέννα πεντηκοντάπαις  
 πάλιν πρὸς Ἄργος οὐχ ἔκουσ' ἐλεύσεται  
 θηλύσπορος, φεύγουσα συγγενῇ γάμον 855  
 ἀνεψιῶν· οἱ δ' ἐπτοημένοι φρένας,  
 κίρκοι πελειῶν οὐ μακρὰν λελειμμένοι,  
 ἥξουσι θηρεύοντες οὐ θηρασίμους  
 γάμους, φθόνον δὲ σωμάτων ἔξει θεός·  
 Πελασγία δὲ δεύσεται θηλυκτόνῳ 860  
 Ἄρει δαμέντων νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θράσει·  
 γυνὴ γὰρ ἄνδρ' ἕκαστον αἰῶνος στερεῖ  
 δίθηκτον ἐν σφαγαῖσι βάψασα ξίφος.  
 τοιάδ' ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἔμοὺς ἔλθοι Κύπρις.  
 μίαν δὲ παίδων ἱμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ 865  
 κτεῖναι σύννευον, ἀλλ' ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται  
 γνώμην· δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον βουλήσεται,  
 κλύειν ἀναλκίς μᾶλλον ἢ μισοφόνος·  
 αὕτη κατ' Ἄργος βασιλικὸν τέξει γένος.  
 μακροῦ λόγου δεῖ ταῦτ' ἐπεξελθεῖν τορῶς· 870  
 σποράς γε μὴν ἐκ τῆσδε φύσεται θρασύς,  
 τόξοισι κλεινός, δς πόνων ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐμὲ  
 λύσει. τοιόνδε χρησμὸν ἢ παλαιγενῆς  
 μήτηρ ἐμοὶ διῆλθε Τιτανὶς Θέμις·  
 ὅπως δὲ χῶπῃ, ταῦτα δεῖ μακροῦ λόγου 875  
 εἰπεῖν, σὺ τ' οὐδὲν ἐκμαθοῦσα κερδανεῖς.

Ιω ἐλελεῦ ἐλελεῦ·  
 ὑπὸ μ' αὐ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς  
 μανίαι θάλπους, οἷστρου δ' ἄρδις  
 χρίει μ' ἄπυρος, 880  
 κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει.

858 Φ: θηρεύσοντες ΜΨ    860 Griffith (δεύεται Hoffmann): δέξεται  
 Ω    861 ΜΨ: δαμέντα Lc: δαμέντας Pauw    864 ἐπ' Φ: ἐς ΜΨ  
 871 Ω: σπόρος Sikes and Willson    875 λόγου ΜΨ: χρόνου Φ    877  
 Pauw (from Hesychius): ἐλελελελελεῦ (*vel sim.*) Ω



τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὄμμαθ' ἐλίγδην,  
 ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης ·  
 πνεύματι μάργωι γλώσσης ἀκρατῆς,  
 θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παίους' εἰκῆι  
 στυγνῆς πρὸς κύμασιν αἴτης. 885

Χο. ἡ σοφὸς ἡ σοφὸς ἦν [στρ.  
 δς πρῶτος ἐν γνῶμαι τόδ' ἐβάστασε καὶ  
 γλώσσαι διεμυθολόγησεν,  
 ὥς τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῶι,  
 καὶ μήτε τῶν πλούτῳ διαθρυπτομένων 890  
 μήτε τῶν γένναι μεγαλυνομένων  
 ὄντα χερνήταν ἐραστεῦσαι γάμων.

μήποτε μήποτέ μ', ὦ [ἀντ.  
 Μοῖραι <υ — υ —> λεχέων Διὸς εὐ- 895  
 νάτειραν ἰδοῖσθε πέλουσιν,  
 μηδὲ πλαθείην γαμέται τινὶ τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ·  
 ταρβῶ γὰρ ἀστεργάνορα παρθενίαν  
 εἰσορᾷς' Ἰοῦς ἀμαλαπτομέναν  
 δυσπλάνοις † Ἥρας ἀλατείαις πόνων.† 900

ἔμοι δ' ὅτε μὲν ὀμαλὸς ὁ γάμος, [ἐπειδ.  
 † ἄφοβος· οὐ δέδια· †  
 μηδὲ κρεισσόνων θεῶν  
 ἔρας ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι με.  
 ἀπόλεμος ὄδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος, ἀπορ-  
 α πόριμος· οὐδ' ἔχω τίς ἂν γενοίμαν· 905  
 τὰν Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὄρῳ  
 μῆτιν ὅπαι φύγοιμ' ἂν.

885 Ψ: πταίουσι MQ<sup>ac</sup> 887-8 Ω: Tri. omits ἦν, ἐν γνῶμαι (cf. 894-5) 894-5 <μακραίωνες> Hermann (cf. 887-8) 899 Weil, Dindorf: γάμῳ δαπτομέναν Ω 900 πόνων Ω: ὑπο Page 901 ὅτε Arnaldus: ὅτι Ω 901-2 Ω: ἄφοβος ἔφυ· δέδια δὲ μὴ Page 903 Salvini: προσδάρκοι, -δράμοι, -δέρκοι Ω 905 Ω: τί ἂν Meineke

- Πρ. ἡ μὴν ἔτι Ζεὺς, καίπερ αὐθάδης φρενῶν,  
 ἔσται ταπεινός, οἷον ἐξαρτύεται  
 γάμον γαμεῖν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκ τυραννίδος  
 θρόνων τ' αἰστον ἐκβαλεῖ· πατρός δ' ἀρὰ  
 Κρόνου τότε ἤδη παντελῶς κρανήσεται,  
 ἦν ἐκπίτνων ἡρᾶτο δηναίων θρόνων.  
 τοιῶνδε μόχθων ἐκτροπὴν οὐδεὶς θεῶν  
 δύναιτ' ἂν αὐτῶι πλήν ἐμοῦ δεῖξαι σαφῶς·  
 ἐγὼ τὰδ' οἶδα χῶι τρόπῳ. πρὸς ταῦτά νυν  
 θαρσῶν καθήσθω τοῖς πεδαρσίοις κτύποις  
 πιστὸς τινάσσω· τ' ἐν χεροῖν πύρπνουν βέλος·  
 οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶι ταῦτ' ἐπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ  
 πεσεῖν ἀτίμως πτώματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά.  
 τοῖον παλαιστὴν νῦν παρασκευάζεται  
 ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῶι, δυσμαχώτατον τέρας,  
 ὃς δὴ κεραυνοῦ κρεῖσσον' εὐρήσει φλόγα  
 βροντῆς θ' ὑπερβάλλοντα καρτερόν κτύπον,  
 θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν ἴνόνσοντ'  
 τρίαιναν, αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος, σκεδᾶι.  
 πταίσας δὲ τῶιδε πρὸς κακῶι μαθήσεται  
 ὅσον τό τ' ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν δίχα.  
 Χο. σύ θην ἃ χρῆζεις, ταῦτ' ἐπιγλωσσᾶι Διός.  
 Πρ. ἅπερ τελεῖται, πρὸς δ' ἃ βούλομαι λέγω.  
 Χο. καὶ προσδοκᾷν χρὴ δεσπόσειν Ζηνός τινα;  
 Πρ. καὶ τῶνδ' ἔξει δυσλοφωτέρους πόνους.  
 Χο. πῶς οὐχὶ ταρβεῖς τοιάδ' ἐκρίπτων ἔπη;  
 Πρ. τί δ' ἂν φοβοίμην, ὦι θανεῖν οὐ μόρσιμον;  
 Χο. ἀλλ' ἄθλον ἂν σοι τοῦδ' ἔτ' ἀλγίῳ πόροι.  
 Πρ. ὁ δ' οὖν ποεῖτω· πάντα προσδοκητὰ μοι.  
 Χο. οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν σοφοί.  
 Πρ. σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεὶ·

907 M<sup>Ψ</sup>: αὐθάδη φρενῶν Φ

924 νόσον Ω

932 M<sup>Ψ</sup>: πῶς δ' Φ

934 τοῦδ' ἔτ' Elmsley: τοῦδ' οἱ τοῦδ' ἔτ' Ω

έμοι δ' ἔλασσον Ζηνὸς ἢ μηδὲν μέλει.  
 δράτω, κρατεῖτω τόνδε τὸν βραχὺν χρόνον  
 ὅπως θέλει· δαρὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἄρξει θεοῖς. 940  
 ἀλλ' εἴσορῳ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν,  
 τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον·  
 πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν.

# ΕΡΜΗΣ

σὲ τὸν σοφιστήν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρπικρον,  
 τὸν ἔξαμαρτόντ' εἰς θεοὺς ἐφημέροις 945  
 πορόντα τιμάς, τὸν πυρὸς κλέπτην λέγω·  
 πατὴρ ἄνωγέ σ' οὔστινας κομπεῖς γάμους  
 αὐδᾶν, πρὸς ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐκπίπτει κράτους·  
 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι μηδὲν αἰνικτηρίως,  
 ἀλλ' αὖθ' ἕκαστα φράζε, μηδέ μοι διπλᾶς 950  
 ὁδοὺς, Προμηθεῦ, προσβάλῃς. ὁρᾷς δ' ὅτι  
 Ζεὺς τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐχὶ μαλθακίζεται.

Πρ. σεμνόστομός γε καὶ φρονήματος πλέως  
 ὁ μῦθός ἐστιν, ὥς θεῶν ὑπηρέτου.  
 νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε, καὶ δοκεῖτε δὴ 955  
 ναίειν ἀπενθῇ πέργαμ'· οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ  
 δισσοὺς τυράννους ἐκπεσόντας ἡισθόμην;  
 τρίτον δὲ τὸν νῦν κοιρανοῦντ ἐπόψομαι  
 αἷσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα. μή τί σοι δοκῶ  
 ταρβεῖν ὑποπτήσσειν τε τοὺς νέους θεοὺς; 960  
 πολλοῦ γε καὶ τοῦ παντός ἐλλείπω. σὺ δὲ  
 κέλευθον ἦνπερ ἤλθες ἐγκόνει πάλιν·  
 πεύσῃ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὧν ἀνιστορεῖς ἐμέ.

Ερ. τοιοῖσδε μέντοι καὶ πρὶν αὐθαδίσμασιν  
 ἐς τάσδε σαυτὸν πημονὰς καθώρμισας. 965

948 ὧν Elmsley: ὧν τ' Ω 950 ΜΨ: ἕκαστ' ἐκφράζε Φ 965 Ψ:  
 καθώρισας Φ: καθόρμησας Χ: κατώρουσας ΔGF: κατήγαγε QFγρ.:  
 κατούρισας Hermann

- Πρ. τῆς σῆς λατρείας τὴν ἐμὴν δυσπραξίαν,  
σαφῶς ἐπίστασ', οὐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαιμ' ἐγώ.
- Ερ. κρεῖσσον γὰρ οἶμαι τῇδε λατρεῦειν πέτραι  
ἢ πατρὶ φῦναι Ζηνὶ πιστὸν ἄγγελον.
- Πρ. <ϣ - υ - ϣ - υ - ϣ - υ - >  
οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρεῶν 970
- Ερ. χλιδᾶν ἔοικας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.
- Πρ. χλιδᾶ; χλιδῶντας ὥδε τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγώ  
ἐχθροὺς ἴδοιμι· καὶ σέ δ' ἐν τούτοις λέγω.
- Ερ. ἡ κάμὲ γάρ τι συμφορᾶς ἐπαιτιᾶ;
- Πρ. ἀπλῶι λόγῳ τοὺς πάντας ἐχθαίρω θεοὺς, 975  
δοσοὶ παθόντες εὐ κακοῦσί μ' ἐκδίκως.
- Ερ. κλύω σ' ἐγὼ μεμνηνὸτ' οὐ σμικρὰν νόσον.
- Πρ. νοσοῖμ' ἂν, εἰ νόσημα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς στυγεῖν.
- Ερ. εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς.
- Πρ. ὦμοι.
- Ερ. τόδε Ζεὺς τοῦπος οὐκ ἐπίσταται. 980
- Πρ. ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.
- Ερ. καὶ μὴν σύ γ' οὕτω σωφρονεῖν ἐπίστασαι.
- Πρ. σέ γάρ προσηύδων οὐκ ἂν ὄνθ' ὑπηρέτην.
- Ερ. ἐρεῖν ἔοικας οὐδὲν ὄν χρῆζει πατήρ.
- Πρ. καὶ μὴν ὀφείλων γ' ἂν τίνοιμ' αὐτῷ χάριν. 985
- Ερ. ἐκερτόμησας δῆθεν ὥστε παῖδά με.
- Πρ. οὐ γάρ σὺ παῖς τε καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνούστερος,  
εἰ προσδοκᾷς ἐμοῦ τι πεύσεσθαι πάρα;  
οὐκ ἔστιν αἴκισμ' οὐδέ μηχανήμ', ὅττω  
προτρέψεταιί με Ζεὺς γεγωνῆσαι τάδε 990  
πρὶν ἂν χαλασθῇ δεσμὰ λυμαντήρια.  
πρὸς ταῦτα ριπτέσθω μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλόξ,  
λευκοπτέρῳ δὲ νιφάδι καὶ βροντήμασι

969-70 lacuna indicated by Reisig 974 Φ: συμφοραῖς MΨ 986  
Hermann: ὥς παῖδά με or ὥς παῖδ' ὄντα με Ω 993 MΨ: λευκοπτέροις  
... νιφάσι Φ

χθονίοις κυκάτω πάντα καὶ ταρασσέτω·  
γνάμψει γὰρ οὐδέν τῶνδέ μ', ὥστε καὶ φράσαι  
πρὸς οὐ χρεῶν νιν ἐκπεσεῖν τυραννίδος.

995

Ερ. δρα νυν εἴ σοι ταῦτ' ἄρωγὰ φαίνεται.

Πρ. ὤπται πάλαι δὴ καὶ βεβούλευται τάδε.

Ερ. τόλμησον, ὦ μάταιε, τόλμησόν ποτε  
πρὸς τὰς παρούσας πημονὰς ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν.

1000

Πρ. ὀχλεῖς μάτην με κῦμ' ὅπως παρηγορῶν.  
εἰσελθέτω σε μήποθ' ὥς ἐγὼ Διὸς  
γνώμην φοβηθεῖς θηλύνους γενήσομαι  
καὶ λιπαρήσω τὸν μέγα στυγούμενον  
γυναικομίμοις ὑπτιάσμασιν χερῶν  
λῦσαί με δεσμῶν τῶνδε· τοῦ παντός δέω.

1005

Ερ. λέγων ξοικα πολλὰ καὶ μάτην ἐρεῖν·  
τέγγηι γὰρ οὐδέν οὐδὲ μαλθάσσηι λιταῖς  
ἐμαῖς, δακῶν δὲ στόμιον ὥς νεοζυγῆς  
πῶλος βιάζηι καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχηι.  
ἄτάρ σφοδρύνηι γ' ἀσθeneῖ σοφίσματι·  
αὐθαδία γὰρ τῶι φρονουῦντι μὴ καλῶς  
αὐτὴ κατ' αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς μεῖζον σθένει.  
σκέψαι δ', ἐάν μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πεισθῆις λόγοις,  
οἷός σε χειμῶν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία  
ἐπεισ' ἀφυκτος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ὀκρίδα  
φάραγγα βροντῆι καὶ κεραυνίαι φλογί  
πατὴρ σπαράξει τήνδε καὶ κρύψει δέμας  
τὸ σόν, πετραία δ' ἀγκάλη σε βαστάσει.  
μακρόν δὲ μήκος ἐκτελευτήσας χρόνου  
ἄψορρον ἤξεις εἰς φάος· Διὸς δέ τοι  
πτηνὸς κύων, δαφεινὸς αἰετός, λάβρως  
διαρταμήσει σώματος μέγα ῥάκος,  
ἄκλητος ἔρπων δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος,  
κελαινόβρωτον δ' ἥπαρ ἐκθοινήσεται.

1010

1015

1020

1025

1008 ΜΨ: μαλθάσσηι κέαρ λιταῖς Ο  
κελαινόχρωτον Herwerden

1021 ΜΨ: σοι Φ

1025 Ω:

- τοιοῦδε μόχθου τέρμα μή τι προσδόκα  
 πρὶν ἄν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων  
 φανῇ, θελήσῃ τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν  
 Ἴαιδην κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθη.  
 πρὸς ταῦτα βούλευ', ὥς δδ' οὐ πεπλασμένος 1030  
 ὁ κόμπος ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐτήτυμος·  
 ψευδηγορεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται στόμα  
 τὸ Δῖον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἔπος τελεῖ. σὺ δὲ  
 πάπταινε καὶ φρόντιζε, μηδ' αὐθαδῖαν  
 εὐβουλίας ἀμείνον' ἡγήσῃ ποτέ. 1035  
 Χο. ἡμῖν μὲν Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἄκαιρα φαίνεται  
 λέγειν, ἄνωγε γάρ σε τὴν αὐθαδίαν  
 μεθέντ' ἐρευνᾶν τὴν σοφὴν εὐβουλίαν.  
 πιθοῦ, σοφῶι γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν.  
 Πρ. εἰδότι τοί μοι τάσδ' ἀγγελίας 1040  
 δδ' ἐθάυξεν, πάσχειν δὲ κακῶς  
 ἐχθρὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδέν ἀεικές.  
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ῥιπτέσθω μὲν  
 πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος, αἰθήρ δ'  
 ἐρεθιζέσθω βροντῇ σφακέλῳ τ' 1045  
 ἀγρίων ἀνέμων, χθόνα δ' ἐκ πυθμένων  
 αὐταῖς ρίζαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι,  
 κῦμα δὲ πόντου τραχεῖ ροθίῳ  
 συγχώσειεν τῶν οὐρανίων  
 ἄστρον διόδους ἔς τε κελαινὸν 1050  
 Τάρταρον ἄρδην ῥίψει δέμας  
 τοῦμόν ἀνάγκης στερραῖς δίναις·  
 πάντως ἐμέ γ' οὐ θανατώσει.  
 Ερ. τοιάδε μέντοι τῶν φρενοπλήκτων  
 βουλευματ' ἔπη τ' ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι· 1055  
 τί γὰρ ἐλλεῖπει μὴ <οὐ> παραπαίειν

1028 τ' ΜΨ: δ' Φ      1031 Hartung: εἰρημένος Ω      1039 Φ: πείθου  
 ΜΨ      1043 Ψ: ἐπὶ μοι ΜΦ      1049 Φ: τῶν τ' ΜΨ      1056 μὴ οὐ  
 Wecklein: μὴ Ω

ἢ τοῦδ' εὐχή; τί χαλαῖ μανιῶν;  
 ἀλλ' οὖν ὑμεῖς γ', αἰ πημοσύναις  
 συγκάμνουσαι ταῖς τοῦδε, τόπων  
 μετὰ ποι χωρεῖτ' ἐκ τῶνδε θοῶς,  
 μὴ φρένας ὑμῶν ἡλιθιώσῃ  
 βροντῆς μύκημ' ἀτέραμνον.

1060

Χο. ἄλλο τι φώνει καὶ παραμυθοῦ μ'  
 ὃ τι καὶ πείσεις· οὐ γὰρ δὴ που  
 τοῦτό γε τλητὸν παρέσυρας ἔπος.  
 πῶς με κελεύεις κακότητ' ἀσκεῖν;  
 μετὰ τοῦδ' ὃ τι χρή πάσχειν ἐθέλω·  
 τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον,  
 κούκ ἔστι νόσος  
 τῆσδ' ἦντιν' ἀπέπτυσα μᾶλλον.

1065

1070

Ερ. ἄλλ' οὖν μέμνησθ' ἃ γ' ἐγὼ προλέγω,  
 μηδὲ πρὸς αἵτης θηραθεῖσαι  
 μέμψησθε τύχην, μηδέ ποτ' εἶπηθ'  
 ὥς Ζεὺς ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀπρόοπτον  
 πῆμ' εἰσέβαλεν, μὴ δῆτ', αὐταὶ δ'  
 ὑμᾶς αὐτάς· εἰδυῖαι γὰρ  
 κούκ ἐξαίφνης οὐδὲ λαθραίως  
 εἰς ἀπέραντον δίκτυον αἵτης  
 ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας.

1075

Πρ. καὶ μὴν ἔργωι κούκέτι μύθωι  
 χθὼν σεσάλευται,  
 βρυχία δ' ἡχῶ παραμυκᾶται  
 βροντῆς, ἑλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι  
 στεροπῆς ζάπυροι, στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν  
 εἰλίσσουσι, σκιρτᾷ δ' ἀνέμων  
 πνεύματα πάντων εἰς ἄλληλα  
 στάσιν ἀντίπνουν ἀποδεικνύμενα,  
 ξυντετάρακται δ' αἰθήρ πόντῳ·

1080

1085

1057 Winckelmann: ἢ (or εἰ) τοῦδ' εὐτυχῇ (*vel sim.*) Ω  
 ἄτ' ἐγὼ Ω: ἀγὼ Porson 1078 Ψ: ἀπέρατον M<sup>ac</sup>Φ

1071 Parr:



τοιιάδ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ῥιπή Διόθεν  
τεύχουσα φόβον στείχει φανερώς.  
ὦ μητρὸς ἐμῆς σέβας, ὦ πάντων  
αἰθήρ κοινὸν φάος εἰλίσσων,  
ἐσορᾷς μ' ὥς ἔκδικα πάσχω.

## COMMENTARY

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**ὑπόθεσις** This brief summary, or introduction, accompanies the play in the MSS. It is probably taken ultimately from Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 260–180 B.C.), who seems to have compiled a collection of such *hypotheses* (Latin *argumentum*) on all the plays of the three great tragedians, summarizing plot, setting (as here, 7–8 ἡ μὲν σκηνή . . .), identity of chorus (9 ὁ δὲ χορός . . .), treatment of the same material in either of the other two tragedians (6–7 κεῖται ἡ μυθοποιία . . .), and didascalic information as to date and details of that year's dramatic competition (see Page ed. Eur. *Med.* liii–v, R. Pfeiffer, *History of classical scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1968) 192–6). But in all extant examples, later additions, subtractions, and confusions have much altered the original.

No didascalic information is given here for *Prom.* Whether this is simply another accident of transmission (as e.g. for five out of seven of Sophocles' plays), or due to some ancient uncertainty as to date or author, we have no means of telling.

**[6–7]** ἐν παρεκβάσει . . . ἐν Κολχίῃ: Sophocles' *Colchides* (frs. 336–49 R = 313–23N) probably contained an account of the derivation of Medea's magic charms from P.'s gory wound (cf. App. p. 294, fr. viii. 27–8n., Soph. fr. 340 R). It is not known whether any playwrights other than Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides dealt with the material. P.'s gift of fire was the subject of Aesch.'s satyric *P. Pyrkaeus*; the story of Io was dramatized by Sophocles in *Inachus* (cf. 561–886n.).

**[12]** Γῆ Ἡρακλῆς: possibly an intrusion from a list for *P. Lyomenos*; cf. App. pp. 285–6, fr. iii2.

**[15–18]** This marginal note (= schol. *Prom.* Id Herington) is a correction of the careless remark (8) that the setting is 'by the Caucasus mountain' (which is indeed where P. is usually said to have been chained; cf. 719–21, fr. viii. 28nn., and e.g. Ap. Rhod. 2.1247ff.). In *Prom.*, his torment is set 'at the ends of the earth' (1–2, 284–5, etc.), by the Ocean, somewhere in the extreme North or North-west, while the Caucasus mountains are apparently thought to be somewhere just to the north of the Black Sea (719–21n.) – one of several wild inaccuracies in

the play's geography. See further 2, 137–40, 696–741 nn., App. frs. viii, xi, xiii with nn., and Map.

### **The Scene**

The setting of the play is remotest Scythia, far to the north-west of Greece (*hypoth.* n., 2n.); a rocky hill or cliff overlooks the Ocean (15, 20, 571–3nn.). On the staging of the original production, see *Introd.* p. 30.

### **1–127: The Prologue, or Opening Scene**

This falls into two parts, a dialogue between Kratos and Hephaestus as they chain P. to the rock (1–87), and P.'s monologue (88–127).

#### **1–87 Dialogue of Kratos and Hephaestus**

Enter Kratos and Bia, leading P., and accompanied by Hephaestus. They bring P. up to the rock-face, and Kratos gives instructions to the reluctant Hephaestus to fasten him there. P. remains silent as Hephaestus and Kratos begin to discuss the events which have led to his punishment.

In the Prologue, the audience has to be informed of 'the story so far'. Greek tragedies often begin with a simple monologue, in which a character announces where the scene is set and what has already happened; then the real action of the play begins. This form of Prologue is generally favoured by Euripides (see Stevens on *Andr.* 1–55), and sometimes by Aeschylus (e.g. in all three plays of the *Oresteia*), though on other occasions he opens with the arrival of the Chorus (*Pers.*, *Supp.*). Sophocles usually prefers to integrate these expository functions with the rest of the dramatic action, and to open with a dialogue (e.g. *Ant.*, *OC*). It is this 'Sophoclean' kind of Prologue that is employed here, with the dialogue form effectively contrasting the personalities of the main characters, Zeus and P., through their associates, Kratos and Hephaestus, and at the same time conveying the essential details of information about the background of the play. The audience may, or may not, have just watched one play about P.'s theft of fire (*P. Pyrphoros*, see App. pp. 281–5); in any case, the first half of *Prom.* is largely occupied by accounts of the recent past.

As the four characters enter up one *parodos* (Introd. p. 31) the audience will quickly identify the lame Hephaestus, carrying his hammer and the rest of his equipment. The grim figures of Kratos and Bia, presumably one on each side of P., perhaps each grasping one of his arms, are not identified by name until 12; but both costume and bearing (78) display their nature and function, suggesting the coarse brutality of Zeus' regime (cf. 514n.). Zeus does not appear in person in the play: we judge him through his agents, and through his victims.

Kratos (Power) and Bia (Violence) embody the military basis of Zeus' newly-won tyranny. According to Hesiod (*Th.* 385ff.), they are children of Styx, who 'have no home except with Zeus, and no place to rest nor road to travel except where he leads them'. Bia is a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον* (Introd. p. 31), presumably dressed as a female warrior or demon, or possibly as a replica of Kratos. Hephaestus is more sympathetically drawn than the other two. His participation in P.'s punishment is due purely to fear of Zeus; unlike Kratos, he does not exult over Zeus' humiliated enemy, but expresses sorrow and sympathy.

P. himself is clearly identified in 4-8, though his name is not spoken until 66 (see 4-5n.). Throughout this opening scene, he makes no response to his tormentors (88-127n.); yet it is he, even in his silence, who dominates the whole scene.

1 *μέν*: probably to be taken with *δέ* (3), 'Well, we have arrived . . . , now *you* chain him up'; alternatively, inceptive (*μέν solitarium*, cf. 1036-7n.), 'Now . . .', as often at the beginning of a play (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1, Aesch. *Ag.* 1 with Fraenkel's n.; *GP* 382-3).

2 *Σκυθῆν*: adjectival (as at 417, cf. 805). To fifth-century Athenians, 'the Scythian wasteland' was almost proverbial, and could include the whole expanse to the north of the civilized world (Hippocr. *de aer.* 17 ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων ἐρημὴ καλυμένη, Aristoph. *Ach.* 704, Strabo 1.2.27-8; cf. 417-19, 709-11n; also fr. vi n. on 'Ethiopia'). See further fr. viii. 28n., *hypoth.* n.

*οἶμον*: properly a 'way' or 'road', but here apparently 'strip' (cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.24).

*ἄβροτον*: i.e. far from those whom P. has loved and helped, cf. 20-1, 270. The MSS reading *ἄβατον* makes good sense, and is metrically easier, since syllables in resolution do not normally admit 'weak posi-

tion' (as ἄβρ-; see Introd. p. 26, 68on.; but cf. 762 κενοφρόνων); but the rarer word, preserved in scholia to Homer and Aristophanes (and n.b. Hesychius ἄβροτον: ἀπάνθρωπον) should be preferred.

It is common for an incoming character to begin with an explanatory ἦκω... (284-97n.); here this is combined with the equally conventional device for setting the scene at the opening of a play: 'This is the city/palace/island of..., etc.' (e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 1ff., *Ion* 5-7, Soph. *Ph.* 1ff., *El.* 3ff.; cf. too Eur. *Alc.* 1ff., *Andr.* 1ff.). The anaphora of εἰς... ἐς... εἰς is effective in bringing out the three different aspects (location, name, character) of the setting, and already in these first two lines the keynote of remoteness and desolation has been struck. The play is to be enacted at the very ends of the earth (cf. 807-9 with n.).

**3** **Ἡφαιστα:** see 144n.

**μέλειν:** here personal, with ἐπιστολάς; lit. 'there is a need that the commands be of concern to you'.

**4-5** **πατήρ:** i.e. Zeus, 'father of gods and men', sometimes kind, sometimes stern; cf. 39n., 947.

**τόνδε ... τὸν λεωργόν:** Kratos repeatedly refers to P. in the third person (43, 52, 70), before finally bursting out in outright contempt to his face (82-7); by contrast, Hephaestus addresses him in the more sympathetic second person (18ff., 66). We may compare e.g. the speech of Ajax to Achilles in Hom. *Il.* 9.62ff.) (and see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 616ff.). λεωργός perhaps lit. = 'he who works as he likes' (λέως = 'at will' cf. λῶ: plus ἐργ-ὄργ-; so LSJ s.v., and cf. ραιδιουργός); or else 'he who does absolutely anything' (λέως = λείως 'flatly', hence 'completely': so Chantraine, *Glotta* 33 (1954) 25-36). In any case, λεωργός comes to mean simply 'criminal' (so Hesychius λεωργόν· κακοῦργον, πανούργον, ἀνδροφόνον), cf. Archil. fr. 177.3 West. The name of the prisoner is not spoken until 66; cf. 14, 18.

**ὀχμέσθαι** 'harness' (again 618). ὀχμάζω was regularly used of horses (Eur. *El.* 817, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.743). (The infinitive follows ἐπιστολάς, 'orders to harness...') Images of yoking, taming, etc. are common in this play (Introd. p. 21; cf. too 1078-9n.) as Zeus tries to break P.'s unruly spirit.

**6** **ἀδαμαντίνων:** cf. 64, 148, and ?426. According to Hesychius, ἀδάμας

was a kind of steel. The meaning 'diamond' is not found before Theophrastus (see West on Hes. *Th.* 161).

This line is unusual in its lack of caesura. The rather ponderous rhythm that results is sometimes used to bring the speaker to a pause (so at 17, 113, 621; and see Jebb on Soph. *OT* 738; cf. also quasi-caesura at 612, and strong mid-line divisions at 472, 500, 976). But here, and e.g. at 640, no such function appears to be served. (For further examples, see Aesch. *Supp.* 401 and Groeneboom on *Prom.* 113.) For the resolved first *anceps* (υ υ – υ –), curiously frequent in this play, see *Introd.* p. 26.

**7–8** τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος ... κλέψας: (cf. 82–3 with n.) 'for it was *your* choicest bloom that he stole ...' According to Hesiod (*Th.* 563–9), Zeus, in anger at P.'s deceitful division of the sacrificial portions, would not give fire to the trees (μελίησι, see West *ad loc.*; also App. p. 284 below) for mankind'; thereupon P. outwitted him ... κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν | ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι (see *Prom.* 109–10). Hesiod does not say where P. obtained the fire, and there is no mention of Hephaestus (any more than at *WD* 50–8). Servius (on Virg. *Ecl.* 6.42, referring to Hesiod and Sappho (= fr. 207 LP) as authorities) says that he got it from the sun. Here, however, it is apparently Hephaestus who was in charge of fire (perhaps on Lemnos? See App. p. 284 n.8) before the theft, as in the story told by Plato's Protagoras (*Prot.* 321c–d): 'So P., at a loss as to what means of salvation he could find for mankind, stole from Hephaestus and Athena the technical skills, together with fire (τὴν ἐντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί) ... P. was not allowed any longer to enter the acropolis, Zeus' dwelling; and Zeus' guards there were fearsome. But without being noticed, he entered the dwelling shared by Hephaestus and Athena, in which they both practised their crafts, and stole Hephaestus' arts of fire (τὴν ... ἔμπυρον τέχνην), and Athena's arts too, and gave them to mankind.' Thus Hephaestus' present sympathy for P. is all the more remarkable.

**7** ἄνθος: in archaic and early classical literature, ἄνθος is used of many sorts of 'excrement, sheen' on the surface of something: flowers or blades of grass in a field, down on a youth's face (cf. 23 χροιάς ἄνθος = 'complexion'), foam on the sea, scum on wine, lustre on gold, pustules on the skin, even corpses floating on the sea (Aesch. *Ag.* 659, cf. Eur. *IT* 300?); see Stanford (1) 111–14. Later 'blossom, flower' was fixed as the

primary meaning. For the metaphorical use, as here, = 'prize possession', see LSJ s.v. 11. Perhaps it is combined here with associations of flame as a 'bloom' (so the scholiasts; n.b. Hom. *Il.* 9.212 (γρ.) πυρὸς ἄνθος, Lucr. *DRN* 1.900 *flammai* . . . *flore*, cf. 4.450).

παντάχνου: we are being prepared for the new picture of human progress through technology, based on the civilizing power of fire; cf. Plato, *Prot.* 321c-e (7-8n.), 450-506n.

8-9 τοιᾷσδέ τοι . . . ἁμαρτίας 'Such is the wrong for which he must pay the penalty to the gods.' ἁμαρτία, ἁμαρτάνω, κτλ. cover a range of meaning from 'mistake, error' (of judgement) to 'sin, crime' (see T. C. W. Stinton, *C.Q.* 25 (1975) 221-54); the basic sense is of missing a target, failing to execute what is intended or required (cf. ἀμπλακέω, ἀμπλάκημα, 112, 620). Here the moral condemnation in Kratos' words is unmistakable: to him, the theft, and P.'s concern for mortals, are despicable and treacherous. The audience may feel differently. Later (266ff.), P. boldly asserts that he 'failed', or 'made (his) mistake' (ἡμαρτον) intentionally (ἐκὼν). See further 112, 260, 563, 578, 620, 945, 1039.

σφε = αὐτόν, as occasionally elsewhere in tragedy (see 55n.). Groeneboom gives further discussion and examples.

10 ἐν in purpose clause after ὥς or ὅπως, regular in Homer, is not uncommon in Attic prose and tragedy, cf. 654, 706, 824 (Smyth §2201, *GMT* §325-6, 328 and Appendix III; J. R. Dobson, *C.R.* 24 (1910) 143-4).

τυραννίδα: essentially a monarchy obtained by force or cunning, not inherited (= βασιλεία); it often, but not always, carries pejorative associations. To Kratos it does not, but as the play progresses, these associations are clearly brought out (736-7n.; also 150n.).

10-11 Διὸς is contrasted with φιλανθρώπου, just as θεοῖς (9) is contrasted with θνητοῖσι (8); cf. 29-30, 37-8, 82-3 with n., 119-23, 229-33, 239-41, 543-4, 737, 945-6, also Kemmer (156-7n.) 77ff. In Kratos' eyes, P. is a traitor to his fellow gods (Introd. p. 9.). The glibly moralistic couplet, 'learn through suffering', rounds off Kratos' speech (17n.).

**12-35** The speech of Hephaestus is constructed to match that of Kratos. Where Kratos referred (a) to the present task (3-6); (b) to the past actions which have led to it (7-9); (c) to the future consequences (10-11), Hephaestus answers (a) with 12-28, his attitude to P.'s punishment; (b) with 29-30; (c) with 32-5: the verbal echo of 11/28 is also notable. (For similar use of parallel structure in Homeric pairs of speeches, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 21.74-113, 20.354-72, 6.407-65, and D. Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970), esp. 30ff., 95ff.) In both speeches Zeus is prominent (4 πατήρ, 10 Διός, 17 πατρός, 34 Διός); in both, a *gnome* rounds off the particular arguments (10-11, 35); in both, the language is powerful, with sonorous compounds (5-6, 18-20, 31-4) and grim descriptions of the physical setting. But the contrast in tone is significant. Kratos sees with Zeus' eyes, whereas Hephaestus is torn between fearful awe of Zeus and sympathy for P. It is Kratos, not Hephaestus, who reminds us that Hephaestus has been wronged by P. in the theft of fire; and Hephaestus' remarks about father Zeus suggest less than whole-hearted approval (17, 34-5). But even Hephaestus cannot deny that P. has done wrong, and the insistent references to mankind (2, 8, 11, 20, 21, 28, 30) suggest that P. has in effect alienated himself from all the gods (83-4n.; cf. 120-1, 284-396n., 945 with n., 1093n., *Introd.* p. 9).

**12-13** Κράτος Βία τε: we learn their names for the first time (see *Prologue* n.). 'For you two, Zeus' command has been completed surely enough (δή, cf. 58) and (there is) nothing left for you to do.' ἔχει τέλος = τετέλεσται.

**14** ἄτολμός εἰμι 'I don't have the heart to ...' (cf. 16, and 999n.). At 235, 299, 331, 381, τολμάω is used with approving tone; normally in Aeschylus τολμάω, τλάω, κτλ. are disapproving (I. Zawadzka, *Eos* 54 (1964) 44-55, Griffith 199).

συγγενή: Hephaestus is son of Hera, great-grandson of Ge and Uranus; P. in this play is son of Themis (daughter of Uranus), who is identified with Ge (209-10). But Hephaestus probably has in mind too his functional 'relationship' with P. (39n.): both are deities of fire and the skills which depend on it. In Athens they shared an altar in the Academy (Pausan. 1.30.2). See too *Introd.* pp. 14-15, App. fr. xvi n.



**15** **Φάραγγι πρὸς δυσχεμέραι:** P. is to be fastened at the top of a 'ravine' or 'cliff-face' (cf. 142, 618, 1017) subject to storms and rough weather. The place, we have learnt, is remote (1-2), high (4-5), and exposed (15). The constant references to 'rock', 'hill', 'crag', etc. (cf. 20, 31, 113, 117, 130, 142-3, 147, 269-70, etc.) are needed to keep the imaginary setting vividly in the audience's mind.

**16-17** Hephaestus rebuts, point for point, his own objections of 14-15: **ἐγὼ / πάντως ἀνάγκη μοι** (he has no choice, cf. 72); **ἄτολμος / τόλμαν** (he must overcome his scruples); **συγγενὴ θεόν / πατρός** (his father's claim is more pressing); **βίαι / εὐωριάζειν ... βαρὺ** (he himself will suffer if he does not inflict this suffering on P.).

**17** The particular argument (14-16) is justified, as often in archaic and classical poetry, by a general maxim (*gnome*), which here rounds off this section of the speech, as at 35, 105, 224-5, 329, (506), 685-6, 926-7, 952; cf. too 10-11 with n. See further H. Friis Johansen, *General reflection in tragic rhesis* (Copenhagen 1959) 151ff., and, on *gnomai* in *Prom.*, Griffith 202-3. The lack of true caesura (γάρ being quasi-enclitic) adds to this effect (6n.).

**εὐωριάζειν** (Porson) or **ἐξωριάζειν** (MSS)? Neither word is found in extant Greek literature; but Byzantine lexicons knew **εὐωριάζω** (= 'take it easy', hence 'disregard') from Sophocles (= fr. 561), and we find parallel formations (**εὐωρέω**, **εὐωρία**, cf. Homeric **δυσωρέομαι**), whereas none exist from **ἐξ + ὥρα** ('care'; hence **ἐξωριάζω** would apparently mean 'put out of one's care', i.e. 'neglect').

**18-20** Hephaestus turns to address P. directly, opening with the formal metronymic (his father is never mentioned in the play; though cf. 164-5n.); cf. 137-40, 589-90. For Themis as P.'s mother, see 209-10 and Introd. p. 5.

**18** **ὀρθοβούλου...αἰκμηῆτα:** P.'s 'high' (i.e. proud or ambitious) thoughts are contrasted with his mother's good judgement (Themis is traditionally **εὐβουλος**, e.g. Pind. *O.* 13.8, *I.* 8.32, and below 209-13, 873-4); so too later, 1000 and 1007-35n. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, P. was **ποικίλος αἰολόμητις** (511), = lit. 'intricate and nimble-witted' (cf. *Prom.* 308 **ποικίλωι**), **ποικιλόβουλος** (521) = 'intricate-planning', **ἀγκυλομήτης**

(546) = ‘crooked-witted’ (cf. *WD* 48), πάντων πέρι μήδεα εἰδώς (559), πολύιδρις (616). This short-sighted cunning has been converted in *Prom.* into a generous foresight on behalf of mankind, and a knowledge of secrets hidden even from Zeus. See *Introd.* p. 8.

**Θέμιδος:** resolution at this point in the trimeter is common; see *Introd.* p. 25.

**19** ἄκοντά σ’ ἄκων: cf. 218 ἐκόνθ’ ἐκόντι, 671 ἄκουσαν ἄκων (and 192 σπεύδων σπεύδοντι). Such expressions are standard from Homer onwards, e.g. *Od.* 3.272 ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν. For further examples of *polyptoton*, see 29n.

**20** ἀπανθρώπῳ: cf. 2 ἄβροτον, 270 ἀγείτονος.

**21** ἴν’ ‘where’ (its usual sense with the indicative), cf. 725, 793, 830. του (= τινός) ... βροτῶν: to be taken both with φωνήν and with μορφήν (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, 458n.). The position of του is not unusual, e.g. *Soph. Tr.* 1254 σπαραγμὸν ἢ τιν’ οἴστρον, and 156 below. P. is to be deprived of contact with the mortals for whom he cares so much (1091–3n.).

**22** ὄψη: strictly this can only apply to μορφήν, not to φωνήν; but such ‘synaesthetic’ metaphor is not uncommon in Greek poetry, e.g. *Hom. Od.* 9.166 ... ἐς γαῖαν ἐλεύσσομεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντων | καπνὸν τ’ αὐτῶν τε φθογγὴν οἷων τε καὶ αἰγῶν, *Aesch. Th.* 104 κτύπον δέδορκα, *Soph. OT* 186 παιὰν δὲ λάμπει, *Virg. Aen.* 8.360 *armenta videbant* | ... *mugire*; see further Stanford (1) 47–62, Sansone 18–19.

**23** χροῖός ἀμείψεις ἄνθος ‘you will change (lose) the bloom of your skin’, in imitation of Solon fr. 27.6 West χροῖῃς ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης: cf. 100 *Aesch. Pers.* 317, *Eur. Med.* 1168, fr. tr. adesp. 161 N (*App.* p. 285), *Virg. Ecl.* 4.44. On ἄνθος, see 7n.

ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι ‘you will be glad when ...’, as at *Hom. Il.* 14.108 ἐμοὶ δέ κεν ἀσμένῳ εἴη, *Soph. Tr.* 18 ἀσμένῃ δέ μοι | ὁ κλεινὸς ἦλθε ... παῖς (*GMT* §900); cf. 191–2, 395–6. The phrase applies equally to 24 and 25.

**24** ποικιλεῖμων ‘with (star-) spangled cloak’.

ἀποκρύπτει: the omicron in ‘weak position’ is here counted long, cf. 263, 366, etc., and *Introd.* pp. 25–6 n.75.

25 σκεδᾶν 'will disperse'.

26 The simple word-order would be ἀχθηδὼν τοῦ αἰεὶ παρόντος κακοῦ, with αἰεὶ in the sense 'at each particular moment' (cf. 937). When he is scorched, he will be glad of nightfall, when he is frozen, of sunrise. Death by exposure, whether through crucifixion, impaling, or fastening to a board, seems to have been a familiar punishment for low-class criminals and traitors (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 22.173-99, Hdt. 7.33, 9.120, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 931ff., Plut. *Per.* 28; cf. LSJ s.vv. ἀνασταυρόω, ἀνασκολοπίζω, σάνις, προσηλόω, προσπασσαλεῖω, and perhaps ἀποτυμπανίζω; further R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *The administration of justice* (Chicago 1938) 11.279ff., K. Latte, *RE* s.v. *Todesstrafe*. An epigram of the second or first century B.C. from Caria (*Anc. Gr. Inscr. in the Brit. Mus.* (1893) 4.1036), from the tomb of a young man murdered by his slave, reads: . . . ἀλλὰ πολῖται ἐμοὶ τὸν ἐμὲ ῥέξαντα τοιαῦτα | θηρσί καὶ οἰωνοῖς ζῶν ἀνεκρέμασαν. Up until this point, we have heard only that P. is to be *bound*, as immortal offenders regularly are (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 15.18-21, 1.397ff., 5.390-1, Hes. *Th.* 717-18), to suffer the discomfort of constriction and exposure to the elements, and the indignity of his opponents' mockery; but at 64-5 we learn that he is also to be *impaled* (as often in archaic representations of P., cf. *Introd.* p. 3 n.10); and at 1022 the eagle is added. Since P. is divine, his torment can be eternal (as in some versions it was, e.g. Hor. *Od.* 2.37, *Epod.* 17.67, and perhaps Hes. *Th.*); cf. App. fr. VIII.

27 ὁ λωφῆσων 'anyone to release (you)', λωφάω here transitive, (intransitive at 376, 654). For the idiomatic article + future participle, cf. 771, 785 ὁ λύσων, and e.g. Soph. *Ph.* 1242 τίς ἔσται μ' ὁ ἐπικωλύσων τάδε;, with Jebb's n.; also S. Ireland, *C.R.* 24 (1974) 2-3. Hephaestus means that there is no prospect of P.'s ever being released, but the irony of πω will be brought out later (771ff., 781ff.) when we hear of Heracles - who is indeed 'not yet born', (cf. 166-7, 1026-9 with n.).

28 'Such are the profits that you reaped from your love for mankind.' The MSS mostly read ἀπηύρω (from ἀπαυράω, not otherwise attested in the middle with this sense; but see West on Hes. *WD* 240); M's ἐπηύρω (a non-existent form) put Elmsley on the right track to ἐπηύρου. For this sarcastic use of ἐπαυρίσκομαι, cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.410, 15.17, Eur. *Hel.* 469,

and LSJ s.v. ἀπολαύω II; also Aesch. *Pers.* 821–2. N.b. too 223 τιμαῖς with n.

**29** θεὸς θεῶν: *polyptoton* (19n.) is not uncommon in Greek poetry from Homer onwards, and becomes a mannerism of rhetorical prose of the later fifth century (B. Gygli-Wyss, *Das nominale Polyptoton* (Göttingen 1966)). The reciprocal pattern of words can be effective in reinforcing the sense, as here and at 192, 218, 258–9, 310, etc.; but, with Gorgias, and to a certain extent with this author, the figure is used sometimes merely for the sound, as an ornament of style (e.g. 19, 69, 244–5, 342–3, 384, 385, etc; see further Griffith 203–7). Here the point comes from the contrast to βροτοῖσι (see 10–11n.). θεῶν goes primarily with χόλον, but is perhaps felt with τιμᾶς too.

ὑποκτήσων ‘cowering at’ (cf. 174, 960). The image is of an animal or bird terrified by its hunters or captors (5n., *Introd.* p. 21). P.’s refusal to ‘cower’ and surrender to Zeus’ reign of terror repeatedly amazes those who are less self-assertive (Kratos, Hephaestus, Ocean, the Chorus, Hermes); cf. 1003–6n.

χόλον: a prominent word in this play (199, 370, 376); so too τραχύτης (35n.), αὐθαδία (64–5n.), ὀργή (79–80n.), κτλ. On both sides, reason and moderation are, for the moment at least, ruled by temper and pride: see *Introd.* p. 10.

**30** τιμᾶς: normally human beings give these to gods, as their superiors; (cf. 946, and 7 ἄνθος, 37–8 γέρας).

πέρα δίκης: cf. 507 καιροῦ πέρα. In whose view, apart from Hephaestus’ (see 1000 ὀρθῶς, with n.)? And exactly what is meant by δίκη? Any human attempt to master the natural world might be condemned as going ‘too far’, and certainly it was a violation of natural and conventional standards for a god to steal from other gods for the benefit of mankind (82n.; cf. G. Vlastos, *C.P.* 41 (1946) 65–83, esp. 78–80); but mankind, and P., may feel differently about the case (8–9, 1093nn.). Zeus’ plan had been to annihilate mankind (231ff.): was this δίκαιον?

**31** Compare Hom. *Od.* 7.279 (κῦμα) ... πέτρης πρὸς μέγαλῃσι βαλὼν καὶ ἀτερπεί χώρῳ (and Empedocles B 131.1 DK).

φρουρήσεις: like a guard on duty (φρουρός), P. will be denied sleep (ὕπνος) and compelled to keep watch unceasingly: cf. 143 and 801

with n. (N.b. too *P. Lyomenos* fr. VIII. 9 (193 N) *castrum*.) Overtones of 'prison' may be present too.

**33** ὀδυρμούς καὶ γόους: P.'s complaints begin at 88, and continue throughout this play (and perhaps most of the next?; App. p. 281).

**34** γάρ: explaining ἀνωφελεῖς, and introducing two *gnomai* (hence 35 δέ = 'and').

δυσπαράιτητοι φρένες: a conventional description of divine intransigence, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.589 ἀργαλέος γὰρ Ολύμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι. Twice in Aeschylus we find the prefix δυσπαρ- in such a context: *Supp.* 385-6 μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ... κότος δυσπαράθελκτος, *Eum.* 383 σεμναὶ καὶ δυσπαρήγοροι βροτοῖς (but cf. *Supp.* 108 δυσπαρὰβούλοισι φρεσὶν, of mortals): see too 185 ἀπαράμυθον.

**35** 'Everyone who has just come to power is cruel.' νέον is adverbial (internal accusative), cf. 389. The newness of Zeus' tyranny is constantly emphasized (96, 149, 310, 389, 439, 942, 955, 960); so is its harshness (77, 164, 185-6, 324, 333, etc.). Aristotle, discussing anger (ὀργή), remarks (*Rhet.* 2.2.6.1378b) 'the cause of pleasure for those who insult (τοῖς ὑβρίζουσι), is that they think that, in ill-treating those people, they are thereby superior. This is why the young and the rich are given to insulting behaviour (ὑβρίζουσι).' See 320, 1009-10nn.

τραχύς: lit. 'rough, prickly'; used again with reference to the young Zeus at 186, 324, (cf. 80), but with reference to P. at 311, (also of a jagged rock at 726, a stormy sea 1048), cf. *Introd.* p. 10. Again the elemental fierceness of the conflict is suggested.

**36-87** Kratos and Hephaestus continue in stichomythia. Apart from Kratos' introductory three lines (36-8) and concluding six lines (82-7), an unusual pattern of alternate two- and one-line utterances is maintained. Kratos relentlessly presses Hephaestus to carry out his task, with repeated questions (36-7, 40-1, 46, 67-8) and commands (43-4, 52-3, 55-6, 58-9, 61-2, 64-5, 71, 74, 76, 79-80); Hephaestus replies with single lines of suppressed emotion. The contrast of manner and character is striking, as at Soph. *Aj.* 791-802 (see further Herington 49-50, Griffith 136-7).

Characteristic of tragic stichomythia is the way in which Kratos picks up Hephaestus' words and throws them back at him in scorn: 39 δεινόν / 41 δειμαίνεις; 42/43 σύ; 45 μισηθεῖσα / 46 στυγεῖς; 48 ἔμπας / 49 ἅπαντα; 51 τοῖσδε / 52 τῶιδε; 54 πρόχειρα / 55 χερσίν; 60 ἦδε / 61 τήνδε; 66 στένω / 68 στένεις; 69 ὀρᾷς / 70 ὀρῶ; 72 ἐγκέλευε / 73 κελεύσω; 75 τοῦργον / 77 τῶν ἔργων; 78 σοῦ / 79 σύ. Still P. remains silent.

**36–7** εἰέν: impatient, and underlined by the repeated interrogatives in asyndeton, τί . . . τί (cf. 56n.).

**37–8** Neat rhetorical balance: θεοῖς ἐχθιστον ~ οὐ στυγεῖς θεόν (chiasmus), with added point in the juxtaposition σόν/θνητοῖσι, cf. 7–8, 10–11n.

δοτις: '(in as much as he is) one who. . .' (LSJ s.v. II), cf. 243.

γέρας: cf. 82, 107, 229, 439, and 7 ἄνθος, 30, 946 τιμάς.

**39** 'You know (τοί), kinship has a strange power, and so has companionship.' δεινός can range from 'terrifying', through 'awe-inspiring', to 'remarkable' (e.g. 59 δεινός εὐρεῖν = 'terribly (good) at finding'): cf. Soph. *Ant.* 332ff., with G. Müller's n. Although Hephaestus cannot deny that P. has merited his punishment (30), he still has scruples at harming one of his own kind (συγγενές, cf. 14n.). The first four words are almost commonplace (e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 985 τὸ συγγενές γὰρ δεινόν, Aesch. *Th.* 1031 with Groeneboom's n.). For ὁμιλία as an equally strong bond, cf. Quintilian, *Decl.* 321, Ovid, *AA* 345–6, on *consuetudo*, and Eur. *Tro.* 51–2.

References to family are frequent in this play: 4, 17, 40, 53, 947, 969, 984, 1018 (Zeus as father, cf. 910–11); 18, 205, 209–17, 873–4, 1091 (Ge–Themis as mother of P.); 347, 351, 410 (P.'s brothers, Atlas, Typhos, the Titans); 14, 39, 130–1, 138–40, 289–90, 558–60, 636, 767–74, 871–3 (connections between Hephaestus, Chorus, Ocean, Io, and P.); this is a personal and domestic, as well as a political and cosmic, struggle. (Cf. too 225n., *Introd.* pp. 14–15.)

**41–2** Kratos reminds Hephaestus of his own words (16–17).

οἶόν τε πῶς (sc. ἐστίν;) 'However can you. . .?' The phrase is similar to

259 δόξει δὲ πῶς; and is more striking than the alternative favoured by some editors and MSS, of punctuating after οὐδὲν τε, 'Is it possible?...', taking πῶς with what follows. This play shows an unusual liking for strong punctuation after the first metron (46, 74, 342, 361, 734, 750, 763, 856, 940; and Headlam 13-14, Griffith 98-9).

δειμαίνεις πλέον: Zeus' paternal anger is more δεινόν (39n.) than Hephaestus' relationship to P.

42 αἰεὶ γε δὴ νηλὴς σύ: (sc. εἰ) ellipse of the second person of εἶμι is peculiar to this play (178, 320, 373, 475, 987; not in Aesch.). The combination γε δὴ, quite common in prose, rare in tragedy (only Soph. *Ant.* 923, Eur. *IT* 512, *Hel.* 1176; see *GP* 245-6) may here simply be doubly emphatic, 'you are *always* ruthless'; or perhaps γε, as often in dialogue (254n.), implies agreement, 'yes, you *always were* ruthless...' The MSS alternatives are not attractive: τε δὴ (adopted by Denniston (*GP* 260) and Groeneboom) gives strained word-order, for νηλὴς τε καὶ .... In the parallels which are quoted for misplaced τε (in tragedy, Aesch. *Th.* 427, *Cho.* 130, *Eum.* 701, Soph. *OC* 808, Eur. *Pho.* 96), the word preceding τε is integral also to the καὶ phrase (e.g. *Cho.* 130 ἐποικτιρόν τ' ἐμὲ | φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην), whereas here αἰεὶ is relatively unimportant. τι δὴ, adverbial, ('you are always somewhat ruthless') is intolerably feeble.

θρόσους πλέως: cf. 178 σὺ μὲν θρασύς (of P.).

43 γάρ explains Kratos' (tacit) agreement, as often in dialogue (388, 968, 983, 987): 'Yes, I am ruthless; for...'

ἄκος: the first of many images of disease and cure in the play (Introd. pp. 20-1).

σὺ δέ: answering σὺ in the previous line. The 'Sophoclean' enjambement (Introd. p. 27), as often in this play, introduces a one-line *gnome* (61-2, 104-5, 323-4, 328-9, 377-8, 384-5, 951-2, cf. 961, 1033-5).

44 'Don't waste your effort on things which do no good', μηδέν internal accusative (cf. 1056-7n.). The sentiment is echoed at 342-3; cf. too 1001.

45 Hephaestus has no answer to Kratos' advice, and voices his frustration and distress in *apostrophe*, as again at 66.

πολλά: again internal (= 'adverbial') accusative, 'much-hated'.

**46** τί νιν στυγείς:: νιν is used in tragedy for all genders, singular and plural. στυγείς picks up μισηθείσα.

ὥς ἀπλῶι λόγῳ (cf. 610, 975) 'simply' or 'briefly', almost 'frankly' (Thomson), as Aristoph. *Ach.* 1151 Ἀντίμαχον ... ὥς ... ἀπλῶι λόγῳ κακῶς ὀλέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ('to speak frankly, to Hell with Ant.'). The poet shows frequent concern in this play for brevity, clarity, and rhetorical balance (193-6, 500, 505, 609-12nn., and Grillith 196, 209ff.).

**47** οὐδὲν αἰτία τέχνη: (sc. ἐστίν). οὐδὲν = 'in no way' (44, 1056-7nn.), more emphatic than οὐκ.

**48** 'But I still wish someone else had been awarded it.' When Zeus came to power, he apportioned the divine functions (γέρα) to each of his allies (228ff.). Hephaestus thus may have received his τέχνη quite recently; but see 7-8n.

**49-50** To Kratos, the personification of Power, anything less than absolute monarchy is 'burdensome', and he sees himself and Hephaestus as virtual slaves of Zeus (cf. 941-2, 966nn.). Such despotism was felt to be unGreek (Eur. *Hel.* 276 τὰ βαρβάρων γὰρ δοῦλα πάντα πλὴν ἐνός), and especially unAthenian. Later we shall see that even Zeus' freedom is severely limited (517-18, 926-7; also 167a-9n.), while P.'s servile punishment does nothing to check his freedom of speech (180 ἐλευθεροστομεῖς, 966n.).

κοιρανεῖν, here with the dative, usually takes the genitive (so too ἀνάσσω, and 940 ἄρξει θεοῖς).

**51** ἔγνωκα τοῖσδε 'I recognize (the truth of what you say) by these things (which I see before me).' Hephaestus points to the rock, the chains, and his tools. For the dative of means of recognition, cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.182 ἀσπίδι γινώσκων, etc. ἔγνωκα has present sense ('I have come to know'), as at Aristoph. *Knights* 871, Hdt. 1.207; cf. (with aorist) Soph. *Tr.* 1221, Eur. *Andr.* 883 ἔγνωσ = 'you are right', Soph. *Aj.* 36 ἔγνω = 'I know', all in stichomythia; cf. too 181 ἠρέθισε with n.

This reading is supported by most MSS, and accepted by most editors. G has ἔγνωκα τοῖσδέ τ' οὐδὲν ... (independently conjectured by



Elmsley, though he preferred τοῖσιδ' οὐδέν). Page prints the conjecture τοῖσδε δ', Hartung and Headlam τοῖσδέ γ'. All three make fair sense, with τοῖσδε now governed by ἀντειπεῖν, but the impact of Hephaestus' statement is much weaker, and τῶιδε (52) has less point.

**52** οὐκουν ἐπέιξι: οὐ + future indicative in interrogation is commonly used for a command or impassioned request; with οὐκουν the sense is, 'So won't you hurry...?'

τῶιδε (governed by περιβαλεῖν) refers to P. (4-5n.). The resolution in the third metron is rare in tragedy (Intro. p. 25).

**53** Compare 17, 40, 312-13, and 529 μηδ' ἐλινύσaiμι. Zeus is traditionally παντόπτης, and does not like to see his agents 'taking a holiday': cf. J. Griffin, *C.Q.* 28 (1978) 1-22.

**54** 'Well, look! You can (πάρα = πάρεστι) see the bridle all ready-to-hand.' καὶ δὴ 'signifies, vividly and dramatically, that something is actually taking place at the moment ... in response to a definite command' (*GP* 250-1); so 75 καὶ δὴ πέπρακται.

ψάλια: a ψάλιον seems properly to have been a 'cavesson', or metal band round a horse's nose (J. K. Anderson, *J.H.S.* 80 (1960) 3-6, id., *Ancient Greek horsemanship* (Berkeley 1961) 60-1 with Plate 37). Like χαλινός ('bit', 562, 672), it is commonly used metaphorically as part for whole (bridle); cf. 61, 71, 74, 76, and 5n.

**55** νιν = αὐτά (i.e. τὰ ψάλια, better than αὐτόν), cf. 9 σφε and 46n. Stanley's βαλὼν ('put them ... and strike') seems better than the MSS reading λαβὼν ('take them, and strike...'), since otherwise the two datives are awkward with θεῖνε.

**56** θεῖνε, πασσάλευε: asyndeton is not uncommon when two verbs, as here, express a single idea, e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 289 κινεῖ, ταρασσει, *Th.* 186 αἰεῖν, λακάζειν. With imperatives, it gives an air of urgency or impatience (again 58, 141, 274, 392, 608, 698, 937, 939; n.b. 100 294); at 58, 392, 937, we even find three imperatives. See further Griffith 194.

ῥαιστήρ: lit. 'smasher', used of Hephaestus' hammer at Hom. *Il.* 18.477, but not found again until Callim. *Hymn* 3.59. (Cf. 189 ῥαισθήι, 236 διαρραισθέντας.)

**57** 'Polar' expression, *περαίνεται δὴ* ('it is being done, surely enough', cf. 13) *καὶ οὐ ματῶι* ('and it is not being left undone', 328-9n.), is characteristic of formal Greek, from Homer to Plato (and e.g. the Psalms); again 336, 340, 610, 833, 1030-1, 1080.

**59** 'For he is clever at finding a way out even from impossible situations.' For *δαινός*, see 39n.

*ἐξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον*: oxymoron, as *πόρος* virtually = *μηχανή* (Hesychius *ἀμήχανον· ἀπορον, πρὸς δὲν μηχανήν οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν*; cf. 477n.). The phrase becomes almost proverbial, e.g. Aristoph. *Knights* 758-9 *ποικίλος γὰρ ἀνὴρ | κάκ τῶν ἀμηχάνων πόρους εὐμήχανος πορίζειν*, Dion. Hal. *AR* 7.36, *Life of Thuc.* 5. P., as thief (8, 83, etc.), sophist (62, 944), and inventor (442ff.), is seen by Kratos as a cunning trickster, as in Hesiod, Aristoph. *Birds*, Lucian, etc. (Introd. pp. 1-3).

**60-1** *ἦδε γ' ... καὶ τήνδε*: 'this arm ... now the other one ...'

*ἵνα*: in 'Sophoclean' enjambement, followed by a *gnome* (43n.).

*πόρπασον*: Doric *α* is sometimes found in tragic dialogue, instead of Attic-Ionic *η*, when the word is not native to Attic; cf. 141 *προσπορπατός*, 352 *δαῖον*, 648, 940 *δαρόν*, 805 *ἵπποβάμονα*, 760, 829-32nn.; see further A. Björck, *Das Alpha impurum* (Uppsala 1950).

**62** *σοφιστής* (cf. 944), the noun from *σοφίζομαι*, originally meant simply 'wise man' (as at Hdt. 1.29, 4.95, of Solon, Pythagoras, etc.), or 'expert, skilled craftsman' (as at Aesch. fr. 314, of Apollo playing the lyre, with Athenaeus' comment; Pind. *I.* 5.28 of the poet; so Photius, *Lex.* *σοφιστής· πᾶς τεχνίτης*, and 459, 470, 1011 *σόφισμα*). P. qualifies on both these counts, but Kratos' sarcastic tone seems also to convey the sense of 'sophist', 'quibbler', which was already in circulation by the later fifth century, as at Aristoph. *Clouds* 331, 1111. (See too 317, 383, 459, 1039nn., Introd. p. 34.) So the sentence does not compare Zeus and P. as sophists: rather, 'he may learn, sophist that he is, that he is more stupid than Zeus' (with *ὦν* in effect understood twice).

*νωθέστερος*: lit. 'more sluggish', like a donkey or an overfed horse (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 11.559); hence 'slower of wit'.

For the whole expression, cf. Eur. fr. 905 *μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῶι σοφός*; and for the thought, cf. 85-6 below.

**63** So thorough has Hephaestus' handiwork been, that only its victim could find fault with it.

**64-5** The details of the torture grow more gruesome. P. is to be impaled, not merely shackled (26n.). It is possible that this feature is derived from a misunderstanding of Hes. *Th.* 521-2 ... δῆσε ... Προμηθεΐα ... δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι μέσον διὰ κίων' ἐλάσσας, as if it meant 'after driving a pillar through his middle' (see West *ad loc.*).

αὐθάδῃ: the 'jaw' (γνάθος, cf. 368, 726 and LSJ s.v. γένος II) of the iron spike is (lit.) 'self-pleasing', i.e. 'wilful, remorseless', a term reminiscent of Homer's νηλεὶ χαλκῶι or λᾶας ἀναιδής. In this play the word is prominent, describing P.'s self-assertive behaviour (436, 964, 1012, 1034, 1037; cf. 979n.). Here, as at 907, we hear and see that Zeus (as represented by Kratos and the fetters) is no less 'self-willed' than his opponent (35, 79-80, 404-5, 907-8nn., *Intro.* p. 10).

For the staging of this, and the rest of the shackling (55-77), see *Intro.* p. 30. Presumably the audience does now hear the ring of hammer on iron (133-4). (See too App. fr. VIII. 7-8 (= 193 N).)

**66-8** Again Kratos throws Hephaestus' words scornfully back at him: σῶν ὑπερστένω | σὺ ... ὑπερστένεις. So too Προμηθεῦ (the first mention by name, for heightened pathos; 4-5n.) is answered by Διός. (The process continues with 69 ὁρᾷς | 70 ὁρῶ.)

**66** αἰαί is usually a cry of misery; uniquely here of pity (K. Kiefer, *Körperlicher Schmerz auf der att. Bühne* (diss. Heidelberg 1908) 107-8).

σῶν ὑπερ... πόνων: the word-order is not unusual for poetry; cf. 653, and e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 172, 1266.

**67** σὺ δ' αὖ: almost 'there you go again', (cf. 743).

ὑπερ: any disyllabic preposition (except ἀνά; διά rarely, see West on Hes. *WD* 3 with further refs.) may follow its noun (= *anastrophe*) in tragedy, if the preposition stands at the end of the trimeter (as 365 ὑπο). *Anastrophe* in mid-trimeter is rare (e.g. Soph. *Tr.* 744, *El.* 711).

ὅπως μὴ σαυτὸν οἰκτιεῖς ποτε 'Mind you don't end up pitying yourself!' ὅπως μὴ + future indicative is common in prose for warnings (Smyth §2213, *GMT* §278). In poetry it is mainly restricted to comedy, and may

be slightly colloquial, contributing here to the rude and unattractive characterization of Kratos; see Stevens 29–30.

**69** **ὅτιμα δυσθέατον**: such oxymoron is characteristic of tragic diction (cf. 904, and Griffith 198). Part of P.'s punishment consists of the humiliation of being stared at by others (158–9n.; 118, 152ff., 302, 612; also 802n.); yet he is eager to summon witnesses to his unjust sufferings (92ff., 119ff., 141, 241, 304ff., 1093, cf. Schinkel 136). The audience are thus effectively involved too as 'spectators' of his misery.

**70** **κυρδύντα** + genitive (like **τυγχάνω**, **ἀμαρτάνω**). In Kratos' view, P.'s punishment is not **δυσθέατον**, but appropriate.

**71** **ἀλλ'**: Kratos wastes no time on moralizing – back to business.

**μασχαλιστήρας**: again (54n.) properly used of animal harness, 'girths', passing under the armpits (**μασχάλη**).

**72** **ἀνάγκη**: cf. 16, and 514–15, 1050–2nn.

**μηδὲν ἐγκέλευ' ἄγαν** 'don't keep on urging me unnecessarily' (cf. 44n.). **ἐγκελεύω** is often used of hunters calling to their hounds (e.g. Xen. *Cyn.* 6.20, Pollux 5.85); also of a coxswain calling to the oarsmen (e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 397, Eur. *Hel.* 1594–6, Thuc. 2.92), or a driver to his horses (Plato, *Phaedr.* 253d). For **μηδὲν ... ἄγαν**, see 327n.

**73** **ἡμὴν** introduces a strong asseveration, oath, or threat (*GP* 350), 'I certainly *will*...', as 167, 907. 'Yes (**γε**, 254n.), and what's more (**πρός** adverbial, as 929) I'll hound you on too!' (**ἐπι-**)**θώσσω** recurs at 277, 393, 1041; it is often used of calling to hounds (Eur. *Hipp.* 219, *Ba.* 871) or to rowers (Eur. *IT* 1127), and thus maintains the metaphor(s) of 72.

**74** **χώρει κάτω**: the scholiast understands this to mean that P.'s body is so huge that Hephaestus must 'move down' the rock-face to get to his legs. More likely, 'proceed downwards...'

**75** **καὶ δὴ**: 54n.

**76** **διατόρους πέδας**: probably passive, 'pierced shackles', referring to the holes in the clamps through which the nails (**πάσσαλοι**, cf. 65

πασσάλευε) were inserted to tighten them. διάτορος is usually active (as at 181), but 'piercing shackles' would suggest that the nails pass through P.'s hands and feet, and πέδη, πεδάω are not apparently used of such methods of fastening.

**77** ὥς... γε 'Yes, for...', though γε is scarcely felt in this stereotyped phrase (*GP* 143).

οὐπιτηγής: 'the appraiser' of Hephaestus' handiwork is, of course, Zeus: βαρύς echoes Hephaestus' own remark at 17, cf. 53. At Aesch. *Pers.* 828 Zeus is εἰθυνοῦς βαρύς.

**78** Kratos' mask, costume, and posture would lend force to this remark.

**79-80** αὐθαδίαν | ὀργῆς τε τραχύτητα: ὀργή ranges from 'temperament', through 'passion' of all kinds, to 'anger' in particular; here the first, as at 315, 378, 678. All three nouns (αὐθαδία, ὀργή, τραχύτης) are thematic to the play (35, 64-5nn.), and are applied both to Zeus (through Kratos) and to P. All three denote qualities which render someone self-assertive, independent, and more or less anti-social (qualities particularly characteristic of some of Sophocles' heroes; cf. Knox 9-33, 45-52). To both P. and Zeus (or Kratos), any mitigation of such independent behaviour constitutes 'softness' (μαλθακίζου, cf. 188, 379, 907-8, 959ff., 1003-6n., 1034-8). For the *aphaeresis* (μὴ 'πι-), see 740-1n.

**81** ἀμφίβληστον: (from ἀμφιβάλλω, hence dative κώλοισιν) usually 'hunting-nets' (cf. 72-3n.), it can also be used of 'entangling clothing' (Aesch. *Ag.* 1381, Soph. *Tr.* 1052, etc.) or 'encircling walls' (Eur. *IT* 96).

Exit Hephaestus, his work complete, by the same *parodos* as he entered. Kratos turns to address P. directly for the first time (4-5n.).

**82** ἐνταῦθα νῦν: scornful, as at Hom. *Il.* 21.122 (Achilles to the corpse of Lycaon, which he has just thrown to the fishes) ἐνταυθοῖ νῦν κείσο, Aristoph. *Wasps* 149, *Thesm.* 1001, *Plut.* 724.

ὑβρίζει: n.b. present tense, 'Now try...' (as at 79). ὑβρίς is an outrage, a self-indulgent action or attitude which violates the person or status

(τιμή) of others (see D. M. MacDowell, *G. & R.* 23 (1976) 13-31, esp. 21-4). P. has acted outrageously in violating the natural law which separates human beings from gods. So too Tantalus was tormented for trying to make men immortal (Pind. *O.* 1.60ff.), and Asclepius was blasted for bringing a man back to life (Aesch. *Ag.* 1022-4, Eur. *Alc.* 123-9, etc., and Pind. *P.* 3.55-60, who points the moral (59) χρή τὰ εοικότα παρ' δαιμόνων μαστευόμεν θναταῖς φρασίν; cf. *I.* 5.16).

P. has assailed the status of his fellow-gods by allowing mankind a share in their special prerogatives (cf. 30, 946 τιμάς, 82 γέρα), and thereby raising mortals above their natural place (cf. 248-51). But the behaviour of Zeus and Kratos (and later Hermes) seems almost equally hybristic towards P. and the older generation of gods (35, 93nn., cf. 970n.?).

**83-4** ἐφήμεροι: (cf. 253, 547, 945) not elsewhere used as a noun in tragedy, but appropriate here as emphasizing the feeble and transitory nature of human existence, utterly remote from that of the gods: cf. Hom. *Od.* 21.85 νήπιοι ἀγροῖώται, ἐφήμερια φρονέοντες, Semonides fr. 1.3 West νοῦς δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισιν, ἀλλ' ἐπήμεροι | ἃ δὴ βοτὰ ζόουσιν, οὐδὲν εἰδότες and Pind. *P.* 8.95-6, Aesch. fr. 399 N. (see further 548-50n.).

τί ... τῶνδε ... πόνων 'What (part) of these troubles...?' (contrast 1056-7 with n.).

σοι (ethic dative) 'for you' (Smyth §1486).

ἀπαντλήσαι lit. 'to bail out' (of water from a leaking ship); see 375 with n., and Eur. *Cyc.* 10 ἐξαντλῶ πόνον.

**85-6** Such play on proper names (*etymological figure*) is common in Greek poetry; cf. 717 and e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 367 Πενθεὺς δ' ὄπως μὴ πένθος εἰσοίσει δόμοις, with Dodds's n.; also Stanford on Soph. *Aj.* 430-3, Headlam 138-58, Aristot. *Rhet.* 2.23.1400b 17ff., Griffith, *H.S.C.Ph.* 82 (1978) 83-6. It stems from the widespread popular belief that things, or people, and their names are linked by more than accident or convention: the name reflects their true nature. In the case of P., of course, who is a personification of a human quality, Kratos' sarcasm seems doubly appropriate (cf. Epicharm. fr. 12 Austin ὁ Προμαθεὺς ... προμαθευόμενος).

σὲ δεῖ προμηθέως: the normal construction in prose (and in Aeschylus) would have σοι; but Euripides provides several parallels, e.g. *Hipp.* 23,

490, 688, *Hec.* 1021. We might at first expect here προμηθίας (Elmsley, followed by Page), as the *attribute* which Prom. now needs, rather than προμηθέως = 'a *person* of forethought'. But the MSS are probably right: the forethinker needs someone to think for him (for the ambiguity of προ-, see *Introd.* p. 2 n.5), just as at 473ff. the doctor, incapable of curing his own illness, requires another doctor. Again at 506 Προμηθέως virtually = προμηθίας. (Cf. Pind. *O.* 7.44, though context and meaning are obscure; and Aesch. *Th.* 224-5, where, if the text is sound, σωτήρος seems to be equivalent to σωτηρίας.)

**87** '... as to how (ὅτῳ τρόπῳ) you can be extricated from (genitive of separation) this handiwork'. ἐκκυλίνδω = lit. 'to roll (something) out of...', hence, in the passive, 'to wriggle out of'. τέχνη is used ironically of Hephaestus' iron-work: P. is hoist with his own petard, since πᾶσαι τέχναι are his special province (506).

Exeunt Kratos and Bia, following Hephaestus. So the first part of the Prologue ends (1-127n.), with P. alone on stage. In accordance with the normal structure of a Greek tragedy, after an exit, and in the absence of a newly-arriving actor, we should now expect the Chorus to arrive – whoever they might be (Taplin 245-7). Instead, in a structural technique similar e.g. to Soph. *El.* 1-121, Eur. *Andr.* 1-116, *Tro.* 1-152, the lone figure delivers a monologue (sometimes described as a monody, in view of the changes of metre, esp. the lyrics of 114-19), which is among the most famous and admired speeches in Western drama.

### **88-127: Second part of the Prologue: Prometheus' Monologue**

P. calls on the elements to witness his unfair treatment (88-100), reminds himself of his situation (101-13), and then addresses the approaching Chorus, whom he can hear but not yet see (114-27).

P. has kept silent in the presence of his enemies. As the scholiast points out (88b M, p. 86 Herington), the audience's anticipation is thereby heightened: Thomson aptly compares Hom. *Il.* 18.15-77, where Achilles at first makes no response to the news of Patroclus' death. Aeschylus apparently made much use of protracted silences of this sort, e.g., in his *Niobe* and *Ransom of Hector* (Aristoph. *Frogs* 911ff., with schol.), cf. too Clytaemestra and Cassandra in *Ag.* (See further O. Taplin,

*H.S.C. Ph.* 76 (1972) 57–97.) Similar effects are achieved in e.g. *Soph. Aj.* 1–88 (Ajax), *Eur. Hipp.* 601–68 (Phaedra), *Or.* 1–210 (Orestes).

When P. finally does burst into speech, he expresses himself in an unparalleled succession of metres: iambic trimeters (88–92), anapaests (93–100), iambic trimeters (101–13), lyric iambics (114–19), anapaests (120–7). The change of metre reflects a change of mood at 100–1 and 113–14; but at 92–3 and 119–20 there is no such correlation. The effect is a curious blend of formalism and passion. The five short sections are symmetrically arranged (5, 8, 13, 5, 8 lines respectively), with alternations between furious indignation (88–97, 119–23), more controlled confidence (101–13), astonished curiosity (114–18), and incipient terror (98–100, 124–7). The audience thus has the opportunity to view P.'s situation through his eyes, in contrast to the preceding dialogue, and to appreciate the paradox of his position – powerless Titan, god who helped humans, prophet of the future who yet fears what will happen next. See further W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch* (Berlin 1926), esp. 51–4.

**88–92** P. appeals in indignation to the only available witnesses, the elements themselves: sky (αἰθήρ), wind (πνοαί), rivers and sea (ποταμοί, πόντια κύματα), earth (γῆ), and sun (ἥλιος). It is common in Greek tragedy for a speaker, alone on stage, to address the air and sky, especially the sun, e.g. *Soph. El.* 86, 424, (with Jebb's n.), *Ph.* 936ff., *Eur. Med.* 57–8 (with Page's n.), *Andr.* 93 (with Stevens's n.), *Hec.* 68ff., *IT* 42–3; also 1091–3 below, with n. The practice was even parodied in comedy (Theognetus fr. 1.9 K, Philemon fr. 79.1–2 K, Plautus, *Merc.* 3ff.). Often the purpose is to bring a dark or frightening secret (e.g. a dream) out into the pure brightness of the sunlight; sometimes the convention may simply have been useful for motivating a soliloquy (e.g. *Med.* 57–8).

At *Hom. Il.* 3.276ff., Agamemnon appeals to Zeus, the sun, the rivers, the earth, and the divinities of the Underworld, to witness his oath:

Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε,  
ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις,  
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε ... κτλ.

The language of P. here calls this passage to mind. He cannot call on Zeus: he substitutes αἰθήρ, the realm of the heavenly gods (so δῖος).



Again we are struck by the vastness and isolation of the setting (2n., 15, 20). P. can expect to find no comfort here – indeed these are the same unfeeling elements which are to torture him in the years ahead (cf. 22–7, 1043ff., with 1091–3n.).

The alliteration of harsh κ, π, and τ sounds in these lines, adds force to the fury of P.'s words; see Stanford on Soph. *Aj.* 55–7, 1112, 1137, and id. (2) 81ff., (3) esp. 55, 108–13; also below, 98–100n., 237, 334, 359, 366–9, 651, 788, 935, 1059–60, *Intro.* p. 28.

**88** ὠδῖος αἰθήρ: (nominative for vocative, as e.g. 545, and Hom. *Il.* 4.189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε, with W. Leaf's n.; Smyth §1288); perhaps borrowed from Hom. *Il.* 16.365 αἰθέρος ἐκ δῖης, *Od.* 19.540. For similar invocations, cf. Soph. *El.* 86 ὦ φῶς ἀγνόν, Eur. fr. 839 Γαῖα μέγιστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ (see further Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 133 n. 77). In early epic, αἰθήρ denotes the area between earth and heaven, or heaven itself. For the Presocratics, it seems sometimes to mean 'fire', sometimes 'air'. In Greece, the blazing heat and brightness of the clear sky would make it easy not to specify which was meant: the root αἰθ- implies both. (See 1091–3 with n., and further C. H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the origins of Greek cosmology* (New York 1960) 140–54, G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic philosophers* (Cambridge 1964) 10–11.)

**89** κυμάτων: ρευμάτων (γρ. variant in two MSS) is defended by Dawe (105); the licence τξ ρ- would be paralleled at 713, 992 (713n.). 'Waves' makes better sense, and fits better with γέλασμα.

ποταμῶν... ποντίων: fresh-water streams, fed by Ocean, are regularly distinguished from the salt sea (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 233ff./337ff.; cf. 137–40n.).

**90** ἀνήριθμον: this form for metrical convenience (for ἀναριθμον), cf. 184–5n., and Jebb on Soph. *Tr.* 247. (In prose ἀναριθμητος is usual.) So too we find 185 ἀπαραμυθον, 549 ἴσονειρον, 643 θεοσσυτον; and see 345n.

γέλασμα i.e. the twinkling of the sunlight on the surface. In the root γ(ε)λα-, the sense 'shine' (as ἀγλαός) may be older than that of 'laugh'; in any case, the two are often combined in reference to nature, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 19.362 γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν | χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς, and *Hymn Apoll.* 118, Theognis 9–10, fr. trag. adesp. 336 N, Lucr. *DRN* 1.8, etc. (so

too Milton, *PL* 4.165 ‘... old Ocean smiles’). See further Stanford (1) 114–17, T. G. Rosenmeyer, *Cal. Stud. Cl. Ant.* 11 (1978) 212–13, West on Hes. *Th.* 40.

**παμμήτωρ**: we learn later (209–10, 1091) that Earth is P.’s mother too. **παμμήτωρ** (M) could be right (nominative form for vocative, as 88 **δῖος**, with n.).

**91** **καὶ ... καλῶ**: the change of construction from the vocatives is not uncommon, e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 862, *OT* 209, etc.; also cf. 489–90, 561.

**πανόπτην**: as at Hom. *Il.* 3.277 (quoted in 88–92n.); cf. too 53n.

**92** **πρὸς θεῶν ... θεός**: (29n.) **πρὸς** + genitive here, as often in tragedy, = ‘at the hands of’ (virtually = **ὑπό**); again at 650, 704; cf. 762, 948 with nn. For the whole line, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 940 **λεύσσετε ... οἱα πρὸς οἶων ἀνδρῶν πάσχω** (and 1093 below).

**93–100** **Metre**: anapaests (Introd. p. 23). The transition from iambic trimeters is as smooth as possible (**ἴδεσθε ... δέρχθηθ’ ...**); cf. 88–127, 120–7nn.

**93** **δέρχθηθ’ οἷαις αἰκείαισιν ...** (picking up 92 **ἴδεσθε ... οἱα ...**, cf. 141 **δέρχθητ’, ἐσίδεσθ’ οἶωι ...**; also 119, 304, 1093, and fr. viii.2 (= 193 N)): the call for witnesses (here the elements, at 140ff. the Chorus, daughters of Ocean) is in accordance with Athenian legal procedure (A.R.W. Harrison, *The law of Athens* (Oxford 1971) 11.85, Unterberger 34–5, see Aristoph. *Wasps* 1436–7, *Clouds* 495. The crime is **αἰκεία** (‘assault, outrage’, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 425d, 464e), itself a legal term which, with its cognates **ἀεικής**, **αἰκής**, **αἰκίζω**, **αἰκισμα**, is used repeatedly throughout the play (93, 97, 168, 177, 195, 227, 256, 472, 525, 599, 989, 1042; see H. G. Robertson, *C. Ph.* 34 (1939) 215, 218, Griffith 174). N.b. too 148, 1041–2nn.

**94** **διακναιόμενος**: (cf. 541) ‘being worn down’, a favourite word of Euripides.

**τὸν μυριετῇ | χρόνον**: i.e. ‘for ages’, ten thousand used, as often, to denote untold numbers, cf. 512 **μυρίαῖς πημοναῖς**, 540 **μυρίοις μόχθοις**, 568 **μυριωπόν**. Later P. talks of thirteen generations (774n.); in *P.*

*Pyrrhoros* '30,000 years' were mentioned (App. fr. 11 a). The use of the definite article here is idiomatic, 'the full extent of time', cf. 448–50n.

**98–100** The first of many references to the grim present (παρόν), as contrasted with a less certain future. For the alliteration of π, φ, in a context of trepidation or questioning, see Fraenkel on *Ag.* 268 ('breathless excitement'): cf. 100 88–92n.

μόχθων ... τέρματα: cf. 183–4, 257, 755, 1026, (also 622, 823, 828, with reference to the wanderings of Io, and 913–14n.). τέρμα suggests a fixed boundary – but fixed by whom (516n.)?

πήι ... χρή τέρματα ... επιτεῖλαι: for χρή, see 772n. The active επιτέλλω can be used intransitively (LSJ s.v. B) to mean 'rise' (of moon, stars, etc.); more likely here it is transitive (LSJ s.v. A), with a subject to be supplied: 'where (one) must set the limit ...', cf. 183. (See too LSJ s.v. ἀνατέλλω). The text follows Hermann and Groeneboom, in punctuating as an indirect question (as at 182–3); Wilamowitz, Page, and others make it direct.

**101–13** *Metre*: iambic trimeters. As P. checks himself, he moves back from the more lively anapaests to a normal speaking tone.

**101–3** P. corrects himself: since, as son of Themis, he *knows* the future (209ff., 873–4), he should not be worrying about it as in 93–100; cf. 766n.

καίτοι 'introduces an objection (often couched in interrogative form) of the speaker's own, which tends to invalidate ... what he has just said' (*GP* 556); it is found three times in *Prom.* (101, 439, 642; see 172n.), not in Aeschylus, often in Sophocles and Euripides.

σκεθρός: cf. 488; perhaps a technical scientific word, cf. LSJ s.v. σκεθρός.

οὐδέ ... ἥξει 'and no suffering will come to me unexpected(ly)'. The double negative is quite regular.

**103–5** τὴν πεπρωμένην ... αἰσαν: see 511n., and Bacchyl. 17.26.

γινώσκονθ': agreeing with implied με or τινά, after χρή. The futility of struggling against *Moira* (= *Aisa*) or *Ananke* is a commonplace: e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1106 ἀνάγκη δ' οὐχὶ δυσμαχητέον, Eur. *Ion* 387; further J. C.

Kamerbeek, *Mnem.* 4.1 (1948) 271–83. For P.'s fluctuations between certainty and uncertainty about the future, and their dramatic effect, see *Introd.* p. 17, 515n.

The four lines in enjambement (101–4) build up to the *gnome* (105) which sums them up.

**107** θνητοῖς | γὰρ γέρα: no breach of Porson's Bridge (*Introd.* p. 26), since γάρ is semi-enclitic.

**108** ἐνέζευγμαι: the 'yoke' of necessity again suggests the taming and driving of animals (5n.), or of human slaves; cf. 578, 1009, and e.g. Eur. *Or.* 1330 ἀνάγκης ἐς ζυγόν, Aesch. *Ag.* 218 with Fraenkel's n. In P.'s case, of course, the image is not merely metaphorical (cf. 1052 with n.).

**109–10** δέ virtually = γάρ, as often (*GP* 169). 'I captured the stolen fount of fire, filling the fennel stalk.' The νάρθηξ (described by Theophrastus at *HP* 1.2.7, by Pliny at *NH* 13.22.42) has a stalk rather like a bamboo cane, and was regularly used as tinder. P. smuggled a spark of fire to mankind smouldering in the pithy hollow of this stalk (Hes. *Th.* 566, Apollod. 1.7.1, with Frazer's n., etc; see 7n.); from this 'source' (πηγή, cf. 807–9n., and Plato, *Tim.* 79d) came the fire from which human beings learnt 'all the arts' (253–4, 442ff., esp. 506). The statement explains 107–8 θνητοῖς γέρα πορών: the present tense (θηρῶμαι) shows that the effect of the past action is still true (as τίκτω = 'I am the parent').

**110–11** For the relationship of fire to τέχνη and πόρος, see 477n.

**112** τοιῶνδε... ἀμπλακτημάτων: see 620, and 8–9 τοιᾶσδε ἀμαρτίας (with n.). Here P. is indignant, almost sarcastic.

**113** δεσμοῖς πεπασσαλευμένος: in the MSS, πασσαλευτός is unmetrical, πασσαλεύμενος a non-existent form. (The second hand of M corrected the proparoxytone accent to a paroxytone, but, faced with δεσμοῖσι, failed to write in the reduplication, which would then yield too many syllables.) For the lack of caesura, cf. 6n. The rolling three-word trim-

eter makes a powerful clausula to P.'s opening address (cf. 362n., Introd. pp. 27-8).

**114-19 Metre:** lyric iambic and dochmiac (Introd. p. 23), expressive of P.'s extreme agitation. At 114 the exclamations may be *extra metrum*; if not, they may be taken as — — ∪ ∪ ∪ — (spondee + cretic), or — — ∪ — ∪ — (spondee + iambic), or ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — (dochmiac, cf. 117-18n.), depending on whether correction or hiatus occurs between the vowels.

115	τις ἀχῶ   τις ὀδμᾶ   προσεπτα   μ' ἀφεγγής:	4 bacchiacs
116	θεοῦτος ἦ   βροῦτειος ἦ   κεκραμένη	3 iambs (i.e. ia. trim.)
117	ἱκετο τερμόνιον ἐπὶ παγόν:	dochmiac + cretic

118, 119 regular iambic trimeters

**114** α: 'a sharp cry of protest' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 503-4; see too Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 810).

ἐα regularly expresses surprise, almost 'Hey!' (298n.).

**115-19** P.'s confusion (and the audience's ignorance) is emphasized by the changes of subject: ἀχῶ, ὀδμᾶ, with their three epithets, must govern 117 ἱκετο; yet θεωρός, θέλων are masculine singular, and ὁρᾶτε is plural.

**115** The sound (ἡχώ) and smell (ὀσμή: for the pseudo-Doric, see Barrett p. 437) of the approaching Ocean-nymphs have reached P., but he cannot yet see them (ἀφεγγής, in *hypallage*, cf. 358n.); cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1391 (at the aerial arrival of Artemis) ἐα· ὦ θεῖον ὀσμῆς πνεῦμα (with Barrett's n. on divine fragrances; also Theognis 8-9).

**προσέπτα:** προσπέτωμαι = 'come suddenly upon' ('as if winged to its aim by a god', Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 282, who also comments on the formation of this aorist); here used with a direct object, usually takes the dative (555, 644). For the whole line, cf. Eur. *Ion* 170-1 ἐα ἐα· τίς ὁδ' ὀρνίθων καινός προσέβα:

The bacchiac rhythm is frequently found in passages of extreme emotion, especially anxiety, e.g. Aesch. *Th.* 104-5, *Eum.* 788-9, Soph.

*OT* 1468ff., *Tr.* 890-3, *Eur. Ion* 1446-7, *Rhes.* 706-8; see further Griffith 22.

**116** *κεκραμένη*: (*κεράννυμι*) perhaps not lit. 'mixed', i.e. 'demigods' (though the Chorus do turn out to be mid-way between gods and human beings in status), but rather a plecnastic catch-all formula, 'anything else in between', as at *Eur. Hel.* 1137 *θεὸς ἢ μὴ θεὸς ἢ τὸ μέσον*, or even *Aesch. Th.* 197 *ἀνὴρ γυνή τε χῶ τι τῶν μεταίχμιον* (see Groeneboom's n. there), and Kemmer (156n.) 57ff.

**117-18** 'Has (he/she/it) come to this cliff at the end of the world as a spectator of my sufferings, or just what does (he/she/it) want?' Headlam, Wilamowitz and others transpose the first two words (*τερμόνιον ἔκετ'*) to yield an iambic dimeter (— ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ —) in place of the rare form of dochmiac given by all the MSS (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪, only eight times in all of tragedy, never in Aeschylus: *Conomis* 23-5). But the resulting iambic dimeter, highly resolved, among unresolved trimeters, would be just as rare, and we note that runs of bacchiacs (115) tend to occur in dochmiac contexts (cf. 114?): so the transposition is unnecessary. (See further Griffith 19-22.)

**119-20** *ὄρατε*: probably indicative (cf. 612, 1092), rather than imperative (see J. E. Harry, *T.A.P.A.* 32 (1901) 64ff.). P. now realizes that more than one visitor is approaching, and he is painfully conscious of his humiliating position (69, 93n.).

*θεὸν... Διὸς... θεοῖς*: see 10-11, 29nn.

**120-7** *Metre*: anapaests, slightly calmer than the preceding lyrics, as P. prepares to meet the unexpected arrivals. Anapaests in tragedy are often used to accompany entrances and exits (284ff., 877ff., 1040ff., with 877-86n., and Taplin 73). But Aeschylus is noticeably more sparing in his use of anapaests for actors (rather than Chorus) than Sophocles and Euripides; *Prom.* is quite unAeschylean in this respect (Griffith 111-15, *Introd.* p. 34).

Here the shift from iambic trimeter to anapaests in mid-sentence (119-20) is highly unusual (Griffith 108-10); cf. 93-100n. The effect is perhaps to suggest some loss of control in P.'s outburst (an effect employed more extensively and sensationally by Euripides in the rapid

changes of metre of some of his monodies): yet the overall tone of the iambs and anapaests is quite measured and restrained (contrast 561-608).

**120-1** τὸν... δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ': 'the one who incurred hatred from all the gods...' (cf. Eur. *Pho.* 479 δι' ἐχθρας καὶ φθόνου μολών, and Groeneboom *ad loc.*, LSJ *s.v.* διά A iv). For the thought, cf. 37, and 975-6 with n.

**122** εἰσοιχνεύσιν: οἰχνέω and its compounds are found quite often in epic: perhaps this accounts for the epic-Ionic contraction here (εὐ for ε-ου). Such contraction is found elsewhere in tragedy only at 645 (πωλεύμεναι), Eur. *Med.* 422, *Hipp.* 167, *IA* 789, and (?) Aesch. *Th.* 78. (At 567, ἀλεῦμαι is unlikely; see n.)

**123** τὴν λίαν φιλότητα: λίαν ('very, exceedingly, excessively'), like κάρτα, ἄγαν, normally modifies an adjective, adverb, or verb (as at 1031), but in comedy and prose it is sometimes used between article and noun as here (cf. Eur. *IT* 721 ἡ λίαν δυσπραξία, Dem. 6.21, Plato, *Rep.* 8.564a, etc., and J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel 1928) 11.138-40). λίαν is not found in Aeschylus, whereas κάρτα occurs there 32 times (not in *Prom.*). Sophocles prefers κάρτα, Euripides λίαν.

**124** φεῦ φεῦ: cf. 98, also in anapaests. Again P.'s explanation is interrupted by unexpected sounds (cf. 113-14).

κινάθεμα: found only here. Hesychius glosses as κίνημα πλήθους.

**124-6** Still P., chained in centre stage, can only *hear* the 'whistling' of wings as the Chorus enter – whether on the roof above his head, or possibly by one or both of the *parodoi* (128-92n.). By now the audience can see that they are not 'birds'; but P. knows that he is far from human habitation (1ff., 20), and perhaps (Paley) fears the arrival of vultures or eagles (26n.), a foreshadowing of his later fate, cf. 1020ff., (also 1089-90n.).

**127** πᾶν... τὸ προσέρπον: (cf. 98) either 'everything that approaches' or 'all the future'. P.'s fluctuations of mood end on a fearful note (88-127n.; also 1089-90n.).

**128–92: Entrance Song (Parodos) of the Chorus**

The Chorus of twelve or fifteen (Introd. p. 31) daughters of Ocean and Tethys (137, cf. Hes. *Th.* 362) come in, apparently mounted on little winged cars (135n.), and exchange words with P.

The Chorus in this play are timid, inexperienced girls, accustomed to the domestic life of their father's house, ignorant of the elemental conflict that has been raging outside. They provide an eager and impressionable audience for P.'s description of past, present, and future, and their reactions generally coincide with those of the audience in the theatre, while contrasting with those of the other characters (Introd. pp. 10–11).

It is not clear how they enter, nor where. It is normal for the Chorus to come into the *orchestra* via a side-entrance (*parodos*); but in this case they are out of P.'s range of vision until 127, perhaps even until 396. There are three possible ways to account for their movements: (i) They walk or dance into the *orchestra* as usual by the *parodos*, and merely pretend that they are flying (whether in a group, as if in one huge wagon, or separately, as if on individual little cars or on the backs of sea-creatures; cf. 132n.); they keep up this pretence until 278ff., when they 'dismount' (so e.g. Thomson). (ii) They are rolled to the edge of the *orchestra* on real winged cars (or one large one), and sing their first ode (128–92) while still mounted on these; then at last they disembark at 278ff., and the cars are removed. (iii) They appear somewhere above (and behind?) P., i.e. up in the air, on cars which are either suspended from a huge machine (probably beyond the means of the fifth-century Attic stage) or, more likely, rolled out on the roof of the stage-building. Repeated mention is made of their aerial entry, and we have noted that P. cannot see them as they arrive. Eventually (272–5) P. tells them to 'come down to ground level'; they agree (278–83) – and then take no part in the following scene (284–396n.).

The most economical explanation for all these details is given by (iii), in which case the Chorus spend the period of the Ocean scene (284–396) in climbing down behind the *skēnē*, and reassembling at a *parodos* in readiness to enter the *orchestra* at 397ff. Otherwise, if they do enter by the *parodos* at 114ff., it is hard to explain why these references to flying and dismounting are made at all, and why the Chorus take no part in the Ocean scene.



In any case, whether (i), (ii) or (iii) is correct, the Chorus are to be thought of as remaining seated in their cars until 283; thus their dance movements must have been rather unusual, (especially if they were up on the roof). (For further discussion of the staging of their entry, see Introd. p. 30, Arnott 75ff., Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 39-41, Taplin 252-60).

This first choral ode is epirrhematic, i.e. it alternates between lyrics and spoken metre, with the chorus of water-nymphs singing a stanza, and P. replying in anapaests. Such epirrhematic structure is not uncommon in tragedy (e.g. the Parodoi of Soph. *Ant.* and *Ph.*, though in each case the form is slightly less strict and symmetrical than it is here; cf. too Aesch. *Ag.* 1448-1575). The effect may be compared with that of the formal stichomythia between Kratos and Hephaestus (36-87n.); but whereas there we felt the opposition of the two participants, here we feel their sympathy, as they respond to each other's words and begin to establish a rapport. The Chorus express friendship (129-32), curiosity (133-5), pity (144-7, 160-2), fear in the face of Zeus (148-51, 163-7, 181-5), and also muted criticism of P. himself (178-80). P., as so often, appeals to them as witnesses of his mistreatment (141-3, 152-7), but also mentions for the first time that Zeus, who now appears so fearsome and implacable, may one day stand in need of P.'s help (168-71, 186-92).

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Strophe α (128-35):     | Chorus allay P.'s fears (cf. 127).   |
| Anapaests (136-43):     | P. calls on them to witness his cruel torments.  |
| Antistrophe α (144-51): | Chorus respond with pity, and comment on Zeus' harsh new regime, and his treatment of the older gods.                      |
| Anapaests (152-9):      | P. wishes that he had been treated like those other gods, i.e. hidden in Tartarus and thus not exposed to public ridicule. |
| Strophe β (160-6):      | Chorus reply that only Zeus would feel anything but pity for P.; but Zeus is unlikely to relent.                           |
| Anapaests (167-77):     | P. asserts that Zeus will one day need his help, and will be forced to back down.  |
| Antistrophe β (178-85): | Chorus criticize him for speaking out so boldly, when Zeus is so relentless.   |

Anapaests (186–96): P. replies that Zeus will not always be so.

Thus the main developments of the play are already foreshadowed at this early point: the threat to Zeus' supremacy, and the increased sufferings that await P.

*Metre: strophe and antistrophe α*

128	μηδεν φοβηθηις· φιλιᾶ γὰρ ἤδε τᾶ-	iambic + choriamb
144	λευσσω Προμηθευ· φοβερα δ' ἐμοισιν ὁσ-	+ iambic
129	ξις πτερύγων· θοαῖς ἄμιλ-	choriamb + iambic
145	σοις ὀμιχλα προσηίξε πλη-	
130	λαις πρόσεβα· τονδε παγον· πατρώιας	2 choriamb
146	ρης δακρυων· σον δεμας εἰσιδουσαι	+ bacchiac
131	μογῖς παρειπουσα φρένας	iambic + choriamb
147	πετραι προσαυαινομενον	
132	κραιπνοφόροι· δε μ' ἐπεμψαν αὐραι·	alcaic decasyllable
148	ταισδ' ἄδαμαντοδετοισι· λυμαῖς·	
133	κτύπου γὰρ ἄχῳ χαλῦβος· διηίξεν ἄν-	iambic + choriamb
149	νεοι· γὰρ οἰακονομοι· κρατους· Ὀλυμ-	+ iambic
134a	τρῶν μυχὸν ἐκ'· δ' ἐπληξέ μου	choriamb + iambic
150	που· νεοχμοῖς δε δη νομοῖς	
134b	τᾶν θεμερώπιν αἰδῶ·	choriamb
151	Ζεὺς ἀθετῶς κρατυνει,	+ bacchiac
135	σῦθην· δ' ἄπεδιλος ὄχῳ πτερῶτῳ·	extended alcaic
152	τα πρὶν δε πελωρια· νυν αἰστοι.	decasyllable

The basic rhythm is simple: a succession of alternating iambic metra (υ – υ –) and choriamb (– υ υ –), followed by clausulae which combine the two, with closing syncopation (*catalexis*), at 130 = 146, 132 = 148, 134b = 150b, 135 = 151. Thus 132 = 147 is an ex-

panded choriamb — ( ∪ ∪ — ) ∪ ∪ —, plus syncopated iambic metron ∪ — ^ — (i.e. bacchiac): the combination produces the ten-syllable colon found as fourth line of the Alcaic stanza, — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —. In 135 = 151, this colon is increased by one short syllable, but the clausular effect is the same; in this case, the previous colon (134b = 150b) has already introduced the syncopation characteristic of many clausulae (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ^ —, after — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —).

An interesting counter-rhythm is set up by the process of 'dovetailing', whereby word-division regularly overlaps colon-division by one syllable. Thus we find in this stanza that word-division would suggest another colometry (which is in fact adopted by Murray, Dale, and others): — — ∪ — — | ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — | ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — |, etc., with 'anaclastic' ionics (∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —, from the ionic ∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — —). This ambiguous effect is not uncommon: cf. Aesch. *Th.* 720ff., *Ag.* 447ff., Soph. *El.* 1058ff., and *Rhes.* 360ff.

The whole metrical pattern is very similar to that of the first strophic pair in the first stasimon (397–414): see further Griffith 25–33.

*Strophe and antistrophe β*

160	τις ὦδε τλησικαρδῖος	2 iambs
178	συ μὲν θρασυς τε καὶ πικραὶς	
161	θεῶν ὅτῳ ταῦ ἐπιχάρη;	2 iambs
179	δυσίαισιν οὐδὲν ἐπιχάλας,	
162	τις οὐ ξυνασχάλας κακοῖς	2 iambs
180	ἀγαν δ' ἐλευθεροστομῆς	
163	τέοισι διχα γέ Διός; ὃ δ' ἐπικῶτως αἶε	3 iambs
181	ἑμᾶς δὲ φρενας ἡρεθίσεν διατορὸς φόβος	
164a	θεμῆνος ἀγναμπτον νοον	cretic + iambic
182a	δεδία δ' ἀμφὶ σαις τυχαῖς	
164b	δαμναται Οὐρανίαν	2½ dactyls
182b	καὶ ποτε τῶνδε πόνων	(= hemiepes)

165	γεννᾶν οὐδέ λῆξει	cretic + bacchiac
183	χρη σε τερμα κελσαντ'	
166	πρὶν ἂν ἢ κορέσῃ κέαρ ἢ παλάμαι τινὶ	4½ dactyls
184	ἔσιδεν· ἀκιχητα γαρ ἠθεα και κεαρ	
167	τὰν δυσῶλῶτον ἔλῃ τις ἀρχαν.	alcaic decasyllable
185	ἀπαρὰ μῦθον ἔχει Κρονου παις·	

The stanza opens with unsyncopated iambs (n.b. several resolutions, one in 161 = 179, three in 163 = 181, and one in 164 = 182), then moves into dactylic rhythm. A run of dactyls, with 'pendant' close (... ∪ — —), rounds it off. For the character of the iambs, see n. on the metre of 901–6.

In both strophic pairs there are some striking *verbal* 'responions' (i.e. echoes or antitheses) between strophe and antistrophe, whether between individual words (128 φιλία ~ 144 φοβερά, 161 ἐπιχαρῇ ~ 179 ἐπιχαλαῖς) or between groups of words. See further on this technique E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* 1 389ff., W. Kuehn, *De vocum sonorumque in strophicis Aeschyli canticis aequabilitate* (diss. Halle 1905), D. Korzeniewski, *Griech. Metrik* (Darmstadt 1968) 162–70, id., *Rh. Mus.* 104 (1961) 193–201, 105 (1962) 142–152; also n.b. 588 = 608 below.

P.'s replies (136–43, 152–9, 168–77, 186–92) are all in anapaests. The first pair roughly correspond in length (about 14 metra each); the second do not (22 and 13). Each anapaestic section comprises one period, with clausular paroemiac (Introd. p. 24).

**128 μηδέν φοβηθήις:** (μή + aorist subj. = prohibition); the Chorus respond to P.'s anxious words (127 φοβερόν).

**128–31** 'For (we are) friendly, this formation (that has) approached this cliff with swift eagerness (or 'competition') of wings, after winning over our father's heart with great difficulty.' ἀμίλλαις may mean that each nymph is striving to *outrstrip* the others, (in separate vehicles? cf. 135n.), or it may simply mean 'eagerness', (cf. e.g. Soph. *Tr.* 220–1, Aesch. fr. 281.6 L–J = 535 M). For φιλία, see 39, 225nn. Only at 559 do we learn that the nymphs are related to P. by marriage.

**132** κραιπνοφόροι... αὔραι: this seems to be evidence that the nymphs are supposed to be truly soaring through the air, and not merely e.g. sitting on winged sea-creatures which leap from wave to wave (cf. 135n., 279). Only here and at 281 (κραιπνόσυτος) are compounds of κραιπνός found in Greek literature.

**133-4** The Oceanids live in a cave (ἄντρον, again 301), presumably at the bottom of the Ocean-stream (cf. Thetis and the Nereids, Hom. *Il.* 18.35ff., and Hes. *Th.* 365 with West's n.). As unmarried daughters, they are subject to their father's will, and generally confined to the women's part of the house (perhaps suggested by μυχός, cf. 646). The echoing ring of Hephaestus' hammer, which the audience heard a few minutes ago (55-81, 64-5n.), has penetrated even there (145n.), and overcome their αἰδώς, which would ordinarily restrain them from acting independently of their father's wishes and from venturing outside to observe public events (cf. 531-2n.).

ἐκ δ' ἐπληξε: *imesis* of ἐξέπληξε δέ, cf. 574, 878, 1060. ἐκπλήσσω (with its derivatives, ἐκπληξίς, κτλ.) is the standard Greek word for 'astonish', 'stupefy', (cf. also 360, 1054). To act normally and healthily (sanely) is to 'think straight' (e.g. 1000), or 'hit' the target of thought (e.g. 444 ἐπηβόλους). Those who are overwhelmed by sudden dangerous impulses, such as anger, lust, madness, or terror, are 'struck away' or 'led astray' from this straight thinking (e.g. παρακόπτω, παρακρούω, παράγω, and 581 παράκοπον, 1056 παραπαίειν, 1054 φρενοπλήκτων; also 673 διάστροφοί, and e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 744 παρακλίνω); they 'miss' the right target (ἀμαρτάνω, 8-9n.); they are 'diseased' or 'insane' (νοσέω, κτλ., 43, 225nn.); they 'stumble' and 'slip' (472 ἀποσφαλεις φρενῶν), 'wander' (473 πλανᾶι, 883 ἔξω δρόμου, and e.g. Pind. *O.* 1.58 ἀλᾶται) or are 'caught in storms' (563n. χειμαζόμενον, 885-6 κύμασιν). In short, they act as if 'struck' by some force from outside them – often described as ἄτη (as 746, 886, 1072, 1078); see further Dodds 1-18, Sansone 29-32, 67-78, Becker 156-77. Here the emotion is not strong enough, or dangerous enough, to be seriously disturbing; but we realize that the Chorus' behaviour in thus coming to visit P. is a deviation from the social norm. For comparable explanation or apology by female characters for appearing in public, see e.g. Soph. *El.* 312-13, 328ff., and the Choruses at Eur. *Med.* 131ff., *Tro.* 153ff. ... διὰ γὰρ μελόθρων διον οἴκτους .... (183) ἐκπληχθεῖς ἦλθον φρίκαι, κτλ.

θεμερῶπιν: found elsewhere only at Emped. B 122.2 DK, again modifying an abstract noun (Harmonia).

135 σύθην: the syllabic augment is omitted for metrical convenience, as often in lyric (and occasionally in iambic messenger speeches; see Page on Eur. *Med.* 1141); cf. 181, 235–6nn.

ἀπέδιλος: i.e. without even pausing to put shoes on, as e.g. Theocr. 24.36 μηδὲ πόδεσσι τεοῖς ὑπὸ σάνδαλα θείης, Horace, *Sat.* 1.2.132 *pede nudo*; cf. too Hes. *WD* 345 γείτονες ὄζωστοι ἔκιον.

ὄχῳ πτερωτῶι: cf. 279 θάκον. It seems clear from these references that a car or vessel is meant, not an animal bearing them on its back (as dolphins or sea-horses sometimes bear human or divine figures in art and mythology); though it is not clear whether a single large wagon is meant, or whether each nymph has her own car, as often in vase paintings of gods or heroes.

The practical problems involved in manoeuvring a huge wagon full of people, whether along the ground or up in the air, argue strongly for the latter; n.b. too 128–9 τάξις and ἀμίλλαις: E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* 1 389ff.

137–40 The elaborately formal address, naming both mother and father (18–20n.), informs the audience of the Chorus' identity, and reminds them of those older powers who used to rule before Zeus. Ocean and Tethys were ancestors of all the gods (Hom. *Il.* 14.201, cf. Plato, *Crat.* 402b; and for Tethys' many children, see Hes. *Th.* 337ff.). Ocean is thought of as 'encircling the whole earth with restless stream' because, to the Greeks, the ends of the earth were the Pillars of Heracles (Gibraltar) to the west, the edge of India to the east, the wastes of Scythia to the north (2n.), and the desert of Ethiopia to the south (696–741n., fr. VI n.): outside these limits, nothing existed but Ocean, a fresh-water stream flowing in a continuous, circular motion (cf. Hdt. 2.21 τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥεῖν, Eur. *Or.* 1377, etc.).

ἔκγονα ... παῖδες: pleonastic, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 10 Θησέως παῖς, Ἀμαζόνος τόκος. θ' is postponed from its natural place after τοῦ. The unnatural word-order (*hyperbaton*) of 138–9 is appropriate for the inter-weaving of land and sea; cf. 1058–9, 1088nn.

140–1 δέρχθητ', εἰδέσθ' | οἶμαι δεσφῶι ....: cf. 93n.

**προσπορετός** 'pinned, fastened', cf. 61. For the imagined topography, see 15n.

**143 φρουρὴν ἐξήλον ὀχέσω**: cf. 31 φρουρήσεις with n. The tragedians are particularly fond of *litotes*, as a form of superlative ('not envied' = 'detested'), cf. 31 ἀτερπῆ, 277 οὐκ ἀκούσαις, 350 οὐκ εὐάγκαλον, 402 ἀμέγαρτα.

**144 λεύσσω, Προμηθεῦ**: answering 141. The plaintive pattern of sound is repeated often in the play: 66 αἰαῖ, Προμηθεῦ, 307 ὀρῶ, Προμηθεῦ, 614 τλήμον Προμηθεῦ, and further 243, 319, 377, 391, 951 (all in the same position in the trimeter, as is metrically unavoidable), plus 278, 285, 398, 543, 554 in anapaests and lyrics (and n.b. *P. Lyomenos* fr. v = 190 N). Such use of the bare vocative of proper name (cf. 3, 12, 635, 788, 815) is rare in Aeschylus, less so in Sophocles and Euripides. Even rarer in Aeschylus is the direct address in lyrics by Chorus to character. See further Griffith 120-2, 129.

**φοβερά**: i.e. as a *result* of fear.

**145 προσήιξε**: δίσσω, and its compounds, denoting rapid, darting motion, recur at 133, 676, 837.

**146 εἰσιδούσαι** 'as I saw (your body) . . .', agreeing with unexpressed μοι from the previous clause. Strictly we might expect either εἰσιδούσας (genitive singular, after ἐμοῖς = 'of me'), or εἰσιδοῦσι (with ὅσσοις), or perhaps εἰσιδοῦσαν (as direct object after προσήιξε, or in 'sense construction', cf. 216-18n.). M may originally have read -οῦσαν (Dawe 203).

**πέτραι προσσυναινόμενον**: = πρὸς πέτραι αὐαινόμενον, lit. 'being dried up', cf. 22, 26n., 269. Here this physical sense, quite common in medical writers, is combined with the metaphorical 'waste away' found e.g. at Soph. *El.* 819, *Ph.* 954 (see LSJ s.v. αὐαίνω).

**148 ὀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις**: (6n., 426, 991). λύμη is equivalent to αἰκεία (93n.).

**149-51** The emphatic words are νέοι, νεοχμοῖς, and τὰ πρὶν, all placed first in their clauses; cf. 35n.

**149** οἰακονόμοι: a mortal ruler is a ‘steersman’ (cf. κυβερνήτης, οἰακοσ-τρόφος) or ‘captain’ (ναύκληρος) of his city (cf. 515, and Aesch. *Th.* 2–3, 62, 652, *Pers.* 767, Soph. *Ant.* 994, *OT* 923, Eur. *Med.* 523 with Page’s n., etc.). So Zeus (poetic plural) is the new ‘rudder-guider’ of Olympus (cf. 526–7n., and Heracl. B 64 DK, Aesch. *Ag.* 182–3). To the Greeks, perhaps especially the Athenians, nautical metaphors are always quick to suggest themselves (e.g. 84, 183, 563; see *Introd.* p. 21).

**150–1** νεοχμοῖς ... νόμοις | Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει: νεοχμῶ often means ‘to make political innovations’ (cf. Latin *novae res*). To ‘rule with newly made-up laws’ is to rule without commonly approved or constitutional authority, i.e. ἀθέτως (without θέμις or ‘that which is laid down’, from τίθημι; ἀθετέω is also the proper term for ‘setting aside, annulling’ a law or promise (LSJ *s.v.*)); cf. 186–7 παρ’ ἐαυτῶι | τὸ δίκαιον ἔχων, 324 οὐδ’ ὑπεύθυνος κρατεῖ, 403 Ζεὺς ἰδίοις νόμοις κρατύνων, all clearly stating that Zeus’ tyranny is arbitrary and, at least to the older generation, unpopular. Zeus’ word is law because he has κράτος – that is what τυραννίς means (10n.).

The MSS have the unmetrical ἀθέσμως: Bentley restored ἀθέτως from Hesychius ἀθέτως·ἀθέσμως, Αἰσχύλος Π. Δεσμώτηι.

**152** πελώρια: i.e. Kronos and the Titans. The adjective can be used to mean both ‘mighty’ (as of Ajax and Achilles in the *Iliad*) and ‘monstrous’ (as of the Python, Cyclops, and Scylla; see LSJ *s.v.* πέλωρ). Here both ideas may be present: Zeus’ tyranny is harsh, but his predecessors were also a rough bunch (see too 351–2n.).

αἰστοῖ ‘annihilates’ (lit. ‘makes invisible’), as Hes. fr. 204.98–9 M–W ἦδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | πολλὸν αἰστώσας σπεῦδε, Hom. *Od.* 1.235, and below 232–3 with n., 667–8. The measures of the young ruler are characteristically extreme (35n.).

**153–5** εἰ γάρ μ’ ... ἦκεν ‘if only he had sent me ...!’ According to Hesiod (*Th.* 717ff.), the Titans (cf. 152 πελώρια) were sent in chains (δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν) down into Tartarus, τόσσον ἔνερθ’ ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ’ ἀπὸ γαίης. At Hom. *Il.* 8.10–17, in a similar context, Tartarus is described as ἔνερθ’ Αἰδεω. Both passages are recalled here, as P. wishes that he had shared his brothers’ fate (again 219–21), so that he



could be hidden from public view; cf. Soph. *OT* 1410-11, and Eur. *Hipp.* 1290-1 (quoted in 1050-2n.), where Barrett remarks that the conventional reaction for a character in an intolerable situation is either to pray for an (impossible) release or escape (e.g. εἴθε γενοίμην . . . κτλ.; cf. 582-5 with n., 747-50n.), or to wish that the past had been different (as e.g. Helen in Hom. *Il.* 6.344ff., or the Nurse at Eur. *Med.* 1ff.). Here P. is following the second pattern. Both techniques serve to emphasize the present miseries (νῦν δέ . . .). See too Schadewaldt (88-127n.) 48.

What is for the moment an impossible wish, is soon to be realized in fact, as P. is plunged by Zeus into the depths (1016-19, 1050-2nn.).

ἄιδου: both αἰδης and ἀδης are found in tragedy, and MSS are unreliable in distinguishing between them; either is metrically possible here.

154 ἀπέραντον ('limitless', περαίνω) or ἀπέρατον ('uncrossable', περάω)? MSS testimony favours the former, though it is of little value, as the words are regularly confused (e.g. 1078, Eur. *Hipp.* 678, 883; cf. Aristoph. *Clouds* 3, Plato, *Theaet.* 147c). See 1078 and n., where ἀπέραντον seems fairly certain. Hesiod (*Th.* 717ff., describing Tartarus) included both ideas (731 *extent*, ἔσχατα, cf. 738 πείρατα; 732 *impenetrability*, τοῖς οὐκ ἐξιτόν ἐστι). The two ideas may both be present at this date (so Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1382).

156 πελάσας: transitive, 'having fixed (me) with chains', as Hes. *WD* 431 γόμφοισι πελάσας, Eur. *Alc.* 230 βρόχῳ δέρνην πελάσσαι.

156-7 τις: for the position, see 21n. For the 'polar' expression (for 'nobody at all'), see Hom. *Il.* 18.403-4 . . . οὐδέ τις ἄλλος | ἥιδεεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων and 116n.; further E. Kemmer, *Die polare Ausdrucksweise* (= Schanz, *Beiträge* 15 (Würzburg 1903)) *passim*, and Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 441-2.

ὥς . . . ἐπεγήθει 'so that no god, nor anyone else, could rejoice at this'. A past tense of the indicative in a final clause denotes that 'the purpose is dependent upon some unaccomplished action or unfulfilled condition, and therefore is *not* or *was not* attained' (*GMT* §333, cf. Smyth §2185c); so 749-50 ὅπως . . . ἀπηλλάγην. ἐπιγηθέω is not found elsewhere before Oppian (second century A.D.), and γηθέω is rarely used in tragedy except in the perfect (with present meaning). Elmsley's ἐγεγήθει (plu-

perfect, with imperfect meaning) has since been found in two MSS, and is accepted by Page. It may well be right; but Aesch. *Cho.* 772 γαθούση φρενὶ is fair authority for (ἐπι-)γηθέω in the present (and see 760n. on γαθεῖν), and the force of ἐπι- is just right (so 159 ἐπίχαρτα, and LSJ s.v. ἐπεγγελάω) for delight at ('over') another person's misfortunes.

**158–9** 'But as it is (νῦν δέ, 152–5n.), a plaything up in the air, I have suffered in my torment things which delight my enemies.' To a proud spirit such as P.'s, ridicule from one's enemies is more bitterly resented than mere physical pain or death; we may compare e.g. Sophocles' Ajax (e.g. *Aj.* 79, with Stanford's n.), or Euripides' Medea (e.g. 381–3). See too 69n., 195 with n.

κίνυγμ', from κινύσσομαι (Aesch. *Cho.* 196) is a 'thing shaken', i.e. here by wind and rain.

**160–1** 'Which of the gods is so hard-hearted as to delight in these things?', (lit. 'to whom these things are delightful'); cf. 242–4. ἐπίχαρῇ echoes 159 ἐπίχαρτα (128, 144nn.).

**162** ξυνασχαλᾷ: again at 243 (and see 303, 764nn.). Several other συν- compounds (414, 1059 συγκάμνω), 274 συμπονέω, 295 συμπράσσω, 288 συναλγέω, 432 συμπίτνω; see too 218n.) combine to suggest that P., although isolated and apparently defeated in his struggle with Zeus, nevertheless wins the sympathy of Chorus, neutral characters (Hephaestus, Ocean, Io) and audience. (See too 1093n.)

**163** τεοῖσι: τεός, archaic form of σός (cf. Latin *tuis*), is occasionally found in tragic lyrics (e.g. Aesch. *Th.* 105, Soph. *Ant.* 605).

γε 'of course', concessive.

**164a** Two Homeric phrases are recalled: *Il.* 9.629 ἄγριον ἐν στήθεσσι θέτο μεγαλήτορα θυμόν (cf. 9.636–7, Theognis 89), and *Il.* 24.40–1 οὔτε νόημα | γναμπτόν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι (both of Achilles). Zeus' will is 'inflexible' (34, 995nn.) – always an ominous word to hear early in a tragedy (Knox 9–27); contrast 187–9.

**164b–5** δάμναται Οὐρανίαν | γένναν 'the family of Uranus' (cf. 577, 589–90, 705, for similar adjectival phrases; also *P. Lyomenos* fr. viii. 1–2

(= 193 N)), i.e. Kronos and the Titans, including P. (cf. 205). δάμνημι (or middle, δάμναμαι, as here) suggests the 'taming' or 'breaking' of unruly spirits (5n.). 'Epic' correption (-ται οὐ-) is not common in tragic lyrics: the dactylic rhythm, reminiscent of epic, may account for it here.

**165-6** Another vague reference to the future: as far as the Chorus can see, the only alternatives are for Zeus to 'glut his heart' with the pleasure of revenge, or for someone else to take over as ruler of the gods. At this point (and at 257-9), neither of these seems to them at all likely (cf. 27, 1027-9, with nn.). But the second alternative leads P. to introduce a third – and very real one: that Zeus will need P.'s help against such a threat to his power.

τινὶ ... τις: doubly indefinite; so too, παλάμη (lit. 'palm of the hand') can denote both 'violence' and 'cunning', so that the suggestion remains unspecific. The oxymoron (δυσάλωτον ἔληι, cf. 69n.) emphasizes the remoteness of the possibility.

**167-9** ἡ μὲν: (73n.) P.'s prediction has the ring of certainty; contrast 165-6n.

ἐμοῦ ... χρεῖαν ἔξει: that the 'lord of the blessed ones' should stand in need of anyone might seem surprising enough (49-50n.; though stories were told of how Thetis, or the Hundred-Handers, had been required to save his reign, Hom. *Il.* 1.397ff., Hes. *Th.* 617ff.); that it should be P., the humiliated victim of his violence (αἰκιζομένου, cf. 93n.) that he will need, is doubly ironical and astonishing.

πρῶτανις: cf. Hom. *Hymn Apoll.* 68; but the political associations for members of the Athenian democracy would be felt too: contrast the more absolute power implied by τυραννίδα (10n.), ταγός (96). See *Introd.* p. 14 n.41.

**170** τὸ νέον βούλευμ': P. is referring to the future events surrounding Thetis (*Introd.* pp. 5-6, 764n.). His hints are repeated at 188-9, 515-25, and then made more explicit at 755-74, 907-14, where only her name is withheld. Here P.'s phrase suggests sedition (νέος = 'revolutionary', cf. 150n.); but we learn later that the 'scheme' is Zeus' own (762).

**171** σκήπτρον τιμᾶς τ' ἀποσυνδύεται: (cf. 761) 'he is to be stripped of his sceptre and status.' The 'prophetic' present tense emphasizes the cer-

tainty of what is predicted (so 513 φυγγάνω, 525 ἐκφυγγάνω, 764 ἀσχαλαῖ, 767 ἐξανίσταται, 848 τίθησι, 929 τελεῖται, 948 ἐκπίπτει; also 211 n., and Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 126.). The internal accusatives σκῆπτρον, τιμάς, are 'retained' with the passive verb, from the double-accusative active construction (ἀποσυλῶ τινά τι = 'I strip someone of something'); see Smyth §1621, 1628, 1632; again at 221-2, 245, 362, 591-2, 634, 761, 856, 866-7.

**172** 'He shall not charm me ... and I shall never give him this information out of fear ...'. The MSS support οὔτι (adverbial, 'not at all'), which is quite possible, though Porson's οὔτε is tempting, as this would bring out the balance between the two alternatives (οὔτε ... τε is not uncommon, Smyth §2945). But more serious corruption may be present. Four MSS have καίτοι, which makes good sense (101-3n.) and 172 as it stands contains the most serious breach of metron-diaeresis to be found in all tragedy (καί μ' οὔτι μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς|, see Introd. p. 24, Griffith 70-1). We should therefore consider emending to e.g. καίτοι πειθοῦς μ' οὐ μελιγλώσσοις ἐπαοιδαῖσιν ..., or καίτοι με <τότ'> οὔτε μελιγλώσσοις ἐπαοιδαῖσιν (omitting πειθοῦς as an intrusive gloss).

**174-5** οὐποτ' ... πρὶν ἂν ...: P. echoes the Chorus' words of warning (165-6 οὐδέ ... πρὶν ἂν ...), with a reminder that his own will is as inflexible as Zeus' (Introd. p. 10). For πτήξας, see 29n.

τόδ': i.e. the νέον βούλευμα (170).

**176** χαλάσει: (sc. με): here and at 991 χαλάω is transitive, at 58, 179, 1057 intransitive; at 256 it could be either.

ποινὰς ... τίνειν: P.'s uncompromising nature is already evident: not only will he insist on being freed before he helps Zeus, but he will require compensation for the injury which he has suffered (93n.); cf. fr. xvi n.

**178-80** The Chorus find P.'s remarks unnecessarily bold and frank (as does their father later, 307-29).

σὺ μὲν θρασύς: (sc. εἰ, 42n.) answered by 181 ἐμὰς δέ ..., reintroducing the theme of Zeus' intransigence (184-5).

ἐλευθεροστομεῖς 'speak freely', i.e. with παρρησία, the quality especially prized among free men and democrats, but regarded as dan-

gerous among the subjects of a monarchy such as Zeus' (49-50n.). See 318-19n., and 329 γλῶσσα ματαία, 953 σεμνόστομος μῦθος.

**181** ἡρέθισε: an 'instantaneous' (or 'dramatic') aorist, equivalent to a present: 'the speaker, in voicing a sudden emotion, thinks of the moment (just past) of the access of that emotion' (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 614). The idiom is mainly confined to drama; again 245 ἡλγύνθην, 401 ἔτεγξα with n., 1070 ἀπέπτυσσα (*GMT* §60, Smyth §1937; also 51n.). There is no need to write ἐρέθισε (Turnebus), producing exact responsion with 163, since the first syllable is *anceps*, and, whereas the syllabic augment is quite often dropped in lyrics (as σύθην, 135n.), the temporal augment is not (Kühner-Blass II. 18).

**182** The MSS give δέδια γὰρ ἀμφ- (υ υ υ υ -) responding to 163 θέμενος ἀγν- (υ υ υ -), i.e. an iambic metron responding to a cretic (cf. 543-4n.). Correction is easy: either 163 τιθέμενος or 182 δ' for γάρ, a common error in transmission (109-10n., Headlam 119).

**183-4** πᾶι ποτε: indirect question after δέδια, 'as to how (one) may ever see you safely landed at the end of your sufferings'. σε must be object of ἐσιδεῖν, despite its position next to χρή. The whole phrase recalls 99-100; in both cases χρή seems to mean almost 'it is ordained that' (772n.).

κέλσαντ': here transitive, 'reaching harbour' from a sea of trouble (contrast 965 καθώρμισας with n.). The lack of pause after the (normally clausular) bacchiac is unusual (... υ - - υ υ - υ υ ... etc.).

**184-5** ἀκίχητα ... ἀπαράμυθον 'untouchable ways and inexorable heart', really a *hendiadys*; see too Sansone 31. The son of Kronos can no more be won over by words than can P. (34n., 172-7).

The first syllable of ἀπαράμυθον is arbitrarily lengthened here for metrical convenience, by a licence inherited from epic (where runs of more than two short syllables cannot fit the dactylic hexameter, and e.g. ἀθανατος, ἰσοθεος are regular); so Soph. *Ant.* 339 ἀκαματαν, 837 ἰσοθεοις, κτλ. (also 90n., and 643n.). At 549, ἰσονειρον does not contain more than two consecutive shorts, but is perhaps allowed on the analogy of ἰσοθεος and epic ἰσος.

**186–7** The subject (Zeus) is understood from 185 (cf. 152–5). For the thought, see 35n. (on τραχύς) and 150n. At Eur. *Supp.* 429ff. tyranny is described as the worst form of government, because . . . οὐκ εἰσὶν νόμοι | κοινοί, κρατεῖ δ' εἰς τὸν νόμον κεκτημένος | αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῶι.

**187** ἔμπας δ' οἶω: the MSS reading (. . . ἔχων Ζεὺς· ἀλλ' ἔμπας οἶω) contains too many syllables. Triclinius (followed by Page) removed οἶω: but it fits the sense well here (cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.536, *Od.* 16.309, etc.), and is an unlikely word to be wrongly inserted. It is more probable that an explanatory note (Ζεὺς, cf. 186–7n.) intruded into the text, then ἀλλά (perhaps in an attempt to improve the metre). Some editors, omitting Ζεὺς, read ἀλλ' ἔμπας οἶω, but against this are the resulting prosodies ἐμᾶς (see Groeneboom *ad loc.*) and οἷω.

**189** δταν ταύτη ραισθῇ 'when he has been smashed in this way' (56n.), i.e. as a result of the 'plan' (170). Again P.'s prediction is vague, but threatening.

**190** στορέσας 'having calmed' (lit. 'smoothed out') his temper, as a stormy sea.

**191** ἄρθμόν . . . καὶ φιλότητα 'unity and friendship', virtually a formula, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 7.302 ἐν φιλότῃ διέτμαγεν ἄρθμήσαντε, *Hymn Herm.* 523–4 αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων | Λητοίδης κατένευσεν ἐπ' ἄρθμῳ καὶ φιλότῃ, Theognis 1312 ἄρθμιος ἦδὲ φίλος, 326.

**192** σπεύδων σπεύδοντι: cf. 19n., 218, and 23n. The prediction that Zeus will calm his temper and make friends with P. is startling enough; no less so is the news that P. will be as eager as Zeus. But ἄρθμός καὶ φιλότης may here represent something closer to a political friendship (*amicitia*) than to any sort of personal affection (225n.). It will be motivated, not by any sense of mercy or generosity on either side, but by practical advantage (170 χρεία): Zeus will be 'softened' (188, 190) only by the threat of being 'shattered' (189). As the play progresses from here onwards, we receive few hints as to how the resolution will come about: rather, we see the bitterness and hostility between Zeus and P. continue to grow, and we hear P. repeatedly announce Zeus' imminent downfall. See further Introd. p. 16, 959n., and App. frs. ix–xiv, xvi nn.

**193-396: First Episode**

This falls into two parts: a dialogue in which P. unfolds to the leader of the Chorus (*koryphaios*) the details of the recent events (193-283); and the arrival of Ocean, offering to intercede on P.'s behalf, and P.'s rejection of his offer (284-396).

**193-283: Dialogue of Chorus-leader and Prometheus**

The Chorus introduce the episode with an invitation to P. to tell them why he is being punished. The sheltered nymphs have naturally heard little of what has been going on among the gods and on earth. (The audience *may* already have seen a whole play on this subject - *P. Pyrphoros*, see App. p. 282 - but if so, the poet does not seem to mind reminding them of some of this recent material (see Griffith 15-16, 252).) P., in a long rhesis (197-241), tells the story of the battle between the Titans and Zeus, his own decisive role in Zeus' victory, and his rescue of mankind from the annihilation which Zeus planned. In stichomythia (246-57), the Chorus learn precisely what P. did for mankind; and then the dialogue turns to his future expectations (257-83).

Up until this scene, the audience have heard only the bare outlines of P.'s 'theft' (7-11, 38, 82-3, 109-10) or 'gift' (28-30, 107-11, 123) of fire. They now hear P.'s side of the story, which is not contradicted anywhere in this play (though cf. *Introd.* p. 7); but it turns out to be in sharp contrast to the versions already familiar from Hesiod (and perhaps elsewhere too): see 219-21, 232-3nn.

**193-6** The Choral Ode, and P.'s epirrhematic responses, are over, and the Chorus are standing expectantly, either in the *orchestra*, or above P.'s head on the *skene* roof (128-92n.). We anticipate the arrival of a new character (Taplin 245-50, cf. n. after 87, 907-40n.). But instead, the *koryphaios* steps forward and asks what is going on. She knows that Zeus is angry at P. (148-51, 163-5), but not precisely why.

A curious feature of this play is the frequent use of four-line speeches (labelled 'quatrains' by Herington, *C.R.* 77 (1963) 5-7, *Author* 32) to introduce or round off an episode or a long rhesis, or to mark a transition in dialogue from one topic to another. Many of these quatrains are spoken by the Chorus (193-6, 242-5, 259-62, 472-5, 507-10, 631-4, 782-5, 819-22, 1036-9); but some by actors (393-6, 522-5, 589-92,

609-12, 683-6, 786-9, 842-5); at 696-9 the quatrain is split between actor and Chorus. (See further Herington *loc. cit.*, Griffith 130-4.) The device gives a certain stiffness and formality to the dialogue, and seems to reflect the poet's concern for symmetry and clear articulation within each speech, or group of speeches (36-87, 46, 500, 609-12n.). Here the first three lines contain the actual request, and the fourth merely adds a polite proviso.

γέγων' 'speak out'. This word (not found in Aeschylus) recurs at 523, (627), 657, 784, 787, 820, 990. It usually suggests loudness, even shouting, but need not mean that P. is so far away that he has to yell to be heard (see Soph. *Ph.* 238).

αἰτιάματι (again 255): the Chorus wonder whether Zeus has any legitimate grounds for his action (150n., 614).

ἀτίμως καὶ πικρῶς: the torment is both spiritual – wounding P.'s pride as it lowers him in the sight of others (69n., 158-9; also 207, 223) – and physical.

αἰκίζεται (middle): cf. 93n.

εἰ τι μὴ βλάβῃ 'unless you are harmed in some way (τι, as at 247, 268, 334, 959; see 1056-7n.) by speaking', cf. 763. Ocean will express similar anxiety at 311-14, 327-9; and in fact P.'s tongue does bring him further trouble in the final scene (947-8, 964-5, 1054-7). Zeus not only sees everything (53n.), he also overhears everything.

197-8 ἀλγεινὰ ... λέγειν picks up 196 βλάβῃ λόγῳ. As at 106-7, P. finds it equally painful to remind himself of his miseries by speaking out, and to keep them to himself. For the *anaphora* with variation (ἀλγεινὰ μὲν ... ἄλγος δέ ...), cf. 238, 260-1, and e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 27 φοβεροὶ μὲν ... δεινοὶ δέ ..., Eur. *Hec.* 982 φίλη μὲν ... προσφιλές δέ. ... The two lines serve to prepare us for the formal narrative of 199-241.

199 ἐπεὶ τάχιστ' 'when first...'; this rather prosaic turn of phrase (paralleled in tragedy only at 228; see LSJ *s.v.* ταχύς C 11 2b), in asyndeton (cf. 790, with 786-9n.), introduces a long narrative rhesis, whose more flowing style is marked by increased enjambement and longer periods (199-208, 209-13, 228-33); see 443-4n., 829ff.

199-200 χόλου ... ἀλλήλοισιν: compare Hesiod's description of the beginning of the Titanomachy (*Th.* 635-6 οἱ ῥα τότε ἀλλήλοισι χόλον



θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες | συνεχέως ἐμάχοντο. For χόλου, see 29n.) But in general, P.'s account of the conflict here has a more political, less personal flavour than Hesiod's.

**στάσις**: the regular term for 'discord' or 'civil war' within a community, as distinct from πόλεμος against an external enemy (see M. I. Finley, *Past & Present* 21 (1962) 6–7); see too 10–11n., 218 with n.

**201–2** οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ...: sense-construction (146n.), as if 200 had read ἐστασιαζον: strictly, the dative would be expected, after ἀλλήλοισιν; so Soph. *Ant.* 259–60 λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρρόθουν κακοί, | φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα (with Jebb's n.) and Eur. *Pho.* 1462–4 ἦν δ' ἔρις στρατηλάταις, | οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ... The symmetry is notable: οἱ μὲν θέλοντες...ὥς Ζεὺς..., οἱ δέ...σπεύδοντες ὥς Ζεὺς..., building up to 204 ἐνταῦθ' ἐγώ... (emphatic).

**202** δῆθεν: 'after final conjunctions [here ὥς], implying, like δῆ, that the desired object is undesirable or contemptible' (*GP* 262).

τοῦμπαλιν 'the opposite'.

**204–6** 'Although I was offering the best advice (LSJ *s.v.* λώϊων, cf. 307–8), I failed to convince the Titans.' The Titans are brothers of Kronos and uncles of Zeus; since Chthon is here identical to Ge, they are also at least half-brothers to P. (see *Introd.* p. 14, also Aesch. *Eum.* 6). But it is not actually stated here that P. was automatically allied with the Titans: these lines could be interpreted to mean that he was at first neutral, merely offering advice to them. (Here again, *P. Pyrrhotos* may have provided further information, and perhaps a different perspective, cf. 193–283n.)

**207** ἀτιμάσαντες 'ignoring, despising' (cf. 195 ἀτίμως with n.); a grand-sounding line (362n.).

**207–8** 'They thought, in their obstinate self-confidence, that they would be the masters effortlessly through crude violence.' πρὸς βίαν is contrasted with αἰμύλας μηχανάς. (For the idiom, cf. 212 πρὸς τὸ κάρτερον, and such common phrases as πρὸς ἡδονήν, πρὸς χάριν; but contrast the usage at 353, 592, 672.)

**209–10** 'Themis, or Earth, one person of many names' (and n.b. too

205 Χθονός!). For P.'s parentage, see *Introd.* p. 5. Gods often have several names (Aristoph. *Plut.* 1164 ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ ἐπωνυμίας πολλὰς εἶναι, cf. Soph. fr. 941 R, Plato, *Crat.* 400e), reflecting their different functions and cults. Here the two titles are boldly united as aspects of the same goddess (cf. *IG* III.350, from Athens; also Paus. 1.22), who is both primeval mother of strange and ancient creatures (351-2n.) and an august prophetess (cf. 219-21n., and Aesch. *Eum.* 2-6, Eur. *IT* 1247; also West on Hes. *Th.* 463, 626). For the whole expression, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 275-6 . . . Δημήτηρ θεά- | γῇ δ' ἐστίν, ὄνομα δ' ὁπότερον βούλῃ κἄλει (and again *Pho.* 684ff.); also *Erechtheus* (*Nova Frag. Eur.* fr. 65, ed. C. Austin) 90-4, and the Derveni Orphic Papyrus (fourth century B.C.; cf. S. G. Kapsomenos, *Arch. Delt.* 19 (1964) 17-25) col. 18.7ff. Γῇ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ 'Ρέα καὶ Ἥρα ἡ αὐτή . . . κτλ.

211 '... had foretold (προθεσπίζω) to me how the future would be fulfilled'. Elmsley's κρανοῖτο (future middle, with passive sense) is unnecessary; the prophetic present is appropriate (171n.).

212-13 Lit. 'that not according to strength, nor with regard to violent effort, must (the victory be won), but those superior in cunning must be victorious'. The natural word-order (τοὺς δόλῳ ὑπερέχοντας) has been altered to place δόλῳ in emphatic position. Resolution at position 8 (x - υ - x - υ υ υ x - υ -) is usually followed by short *anceps* (as at 76,809; see T. Zielinski, *Tragodumenon libri tres* (Cracow 1925) 146); so Porson's simple emendation ὑπερσχόντας (a common MSS confusion, e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1365) is generally accepted. But the present makes better sense, (= 'those who are superior', sc. by nature, rather than 'those who emerge superior...'), and should perhaps be retained: the metrical anomaly is defended by Allen 316ff., esp. 322.

214-15 Genitive absolute. τοιαῦτα is also object of προσβλέψαι: 'they did not see fit even to consider (such things) at all'.

216-18 τῶν παρεστώτων τότε 'of the available alternatives', almost a set phrase (see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1053). For the unusual position of τότε, cf. Soph. *El.* 792 τοῦ θανόντος ἀρτίως.

ἐφαίνεται: in this play (again 317, 997, 1036), but apparently not elsewhere in tragedy, φαίνομαι is used as equivalent to δοκέω.

μοι...προσλαβόντα...ἐκόνθ': though illogical, the switch to the accusative (under the influence of the infinitive) is normal Greek (cf. 146n. and e.g. Soph. *El.* 479–80, 959ff. ὑπεστί μοι θάρσος ... κλύουσιν, Aesch. *Cho.* 410, and Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 378–80).

προσλαβόντα μητέρα: so in this version it is P. who brought Themis to join Zeus' entourage, where she traditionally belonged (Hes. *Th.* 901ff.; 'Themis is constantly associated with Zeus; she hangs about him like a sort of moralized Kratos and Bia', Jane Harrison, *Themis* (2nd ed., Cambridge 1927, repr. 1962) 518–19). But at this point we are probably not meant to think of Themis' civilizing functions, for these have clearly not affected Zeus' recent behaviour.

ἐκόνθ' ἐκόντι (cf. 19n.) In the past, as in the future (192 σπεύδων σπεύδοντι), these bitter enemies are willing collaborators; cf. 225n.

συμπαραστατεῖν 'to stand by Zeus' side' or 'join the party (στάσις) of Zeus' (H. Long); stronger, perhaps, than simply 'help' (cf. 162n., and 305 συγκαταστήσαντα).

**219–21** The defeat and punishment of Kronos and the Titans (221 συμμάχοισι) are described at Hom. *Il.* 8.479ff., Hes. *Th.* 717ff., 851 (also in the lost epic *Titanomachia* of Eumelus or Arctinus). (See too 152–5n., and App. fr. v n.)

παλαιγενῆ: as an older person, and Zeus' father, he might expect to be treated with more dignity (see 910–12).

αὐτοῖσι συμμάχοισι 'together with all his allies'; for αὐτός + 'sociative' dative (again 1047 αὐταῖς ῥίζαις), see Smyth §1525, Sikes and Willson *ad loc.*, Stevens 52 (perhaps colloquial).

This version of the Titanomachy (199–221), in which the credit for victory belongs largely to P. (219 ἐμαῖς βουλαῖς, in emphatic position), is adapted from Hes. *Th.* 624–8, where it is Ge who advises Zeus and the Olympians to obtain the help of the Hundred-handers (see 209–10n., Introd. pp. 5–6). Beyond showing P.'s prophetic powers, it emphasizes the debt which Zeus owes him: without P.'s intelligence, Power and Violence would not have triumphed (cf. 514n. – but at least Zeus had the wit to take P.'s advice). It also presents a sympathetic picture of P., loyal to his mother (209–18), and to his fellow-Titans up until the point where they rejected his advice and doomed themselves (204–8, 214–15); even then, P.'s transference of allegiance seems more prudent than opportunistic (216–18).

**221–2** τοιάδ'...ὠφελήμενος 'having received such benefits from me' (251n.); for the retained accusative, see 171n. τοιάδε sums up the whole narrative of 199–221, and is contrasted with ταῖσδε (223); similarly 237 τῷ...τοιαιῖσδε.

**223** τιμαῖς: a sarcastic play on the two possible meanings, 'honours' (i.e. rewards), and 'retribution' (i.e. punishment); cf. 28n., 319 ἐπίχειρα, and LSJ s.v. ἐπιτίμιον (n.b. too 195 ἀτίμως, 207 ἀτιμάσαντες). ποιναῖς, read by most MSS and editors, is probably an intrusive gloss; with it, κακαῖσι is weak, and the variant τιμαῖς (*difficilior lectio*) hard to explain.

**224–7** A two-line *gnome* (224–5) rounds off the introductory section of the narrative (199–225); then, in the next two lines, P. turns to the immediate cause of his punishment, picking up the Chorus' words of 194–5 (αἰτιάματι...αἰκίζεται, cf. 256–7n.). For the sentiment of 224–5, compare Isocr. 8.112, and Aristot. *Pol.* 8.131b 30: 'Monarchy (βασιλεία) is preserved through friends and relations (διὰ τῶν φίλων), whereas it is characteristic of tyranny to mistrust especially one's *philoï*, on the grounds that, while everyone would like (to become tyrant), these are most capable of it.'

For the formal, four-line transition from topic to topic, see 193–6n.

**225** νόσημα: again of moral sickness at 685, 978 (also νόσος 1069, νοσέω 378, 384); see 133–4, 249, 596nn., Introd. p. 20.

φίλοισι: the connections and obligations of φιλία are an important theme in this play (39n., 123, 128, 191, 246, and 296–7, 611nn. (and 162n., 685–6, 1063–70n.). Family bonds and political loyalties are both involved. See further Introd. pp. 14–15.

**226** δ' οὖν 'Well, anyway...' (935n.).

**228** ὅπως τάχιστα: see 199n.

**229** νέμει: historic present (cf. 109).

γέρα: (38n.) For a slightly different account, see 439–40, with n.

**230** διεστοιχίζετο 'shared out', cf. 484 ἐστοίχισα with n. In Hes. *Th.*

73-4 Zeus, after defeating Kronos, εὐ δὲ ἕκαστα | ἀθανάτοις διέταξεν ὁμῶς (νόμους, van Lennep) καὶ ἐπέφραδε τιμᾶς, (cf. *Th.* 881-5, and even *Th.* 535ff.?).

**231-2** λόγον | οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδέν' 'placed no value on (mortals) at all'. (see LSJ s.v. λόγος 14). For the contrast δαίμοσιν/βροτῶν, see 10-11n.

**232-3** P. does not say why or how Zeus planned to replace one human race with another. It may have been out of disgust at the wickedness of the old race, as in most accounts of the 'Silver Age' (e.g. Hes. *WD* 132-8; see too Plato, *Symp.* 190c) and of the Flood (Deucalion or Noah); or we may be intended to have in mind some account such as that of Hes. fr. 204.95ff. MW (from the *Catalogue of Women*, in connection with Helen and her suitors): 95-9 ... πάντες δὲ θεοὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔθεντο | ἐξ ἑρίδος· δὴ γὰρ τότε μῆδετο θέσκελα ἔργα | Ζεὺς ... | ... ἤδη δὲ γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | πολλὸν αἰστώσαι σπεῦδε ... (N.b. 100 (118ff.) 'many heroes died in battle ... (124ff.) the leaves fell from the trees ... , the North Wind blew ... τρύχεσκεν (?) δὲ μένος βρότεον ... the crops failed ... etc.'; cf. too Pind. *Paean* 9 fr. 52k (= 107) 17-21.) In that account Zeus' motive was apparently to halt the intercourse between gods and mortals which was producing the race of ἡμίθεοι (fr. 204.99-104); but the text is unfortunately too lacunose for us to be sure exactly what is going on. But here in *Prom.* it may be that Zeus simply formed this plan out of whim and the desire to annihilate all vestiges of the old regime (35, 736-7nn.). Unless a preceding play (*P. Pyrphoros*? see App. p. 282) has already given us a better clue, we can only assume this last explanation and take this as further evidence of Zeus' lawless and cruel nature (cf. 667-8n.). There is no hint, for example, that for his own creation he had in mind a more virtuous or civilized species (such as Hesiod's Age of Heroes). But see further Introd. p. 8.

αἰστώσας (cf. 152 αἰστοῖ with n.) In Protagoras' Creation parable (Plato, *Prot.* 321a; see Introd. pp. 3-4), Epimetheus tries to ensure 'that no species be annihilated' (μὴ τι γένος αἰστωθῇ).

**234** τοῖσιν: demonstrative, 'these things' (Smyth §1099-1177; cf. 816? with n.). The short, sharp sentences of 234-6 contrast with the

preceding narrative (199n.); n.b. too the emphatic position of ἐμοῦ, ἐγώ (cf. 467, 913-14, and 456-8n.).

**235** We have to choose between ἐγὼ δ' ἐτόλμησ' and ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τολμῆς (= τολμήεις). Both present problems. The first gives an abrupt asyndeton (but see 266-7, 307-9, and 56, 354nn., and 472). The second ('but I, the bold one, rescued...') gives us a very rare form (992n.), with an unusual contraction (see Jebb on Soph. *Ph.* 984), and a rather odd mode of expression (such parallels as e.g. Soph. *OT* 8 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος, 396-7 ἐγὼ ... ὁ μηδὲν εἰδὼς Οἰδίπους or 158-9 above ὁ τάλας ... πέπονθα, do not seem equivalent). The objections to ἐτόλμησα seem the less serious.

**235-6** ἐξελευσάμην... τὸ μὴ... μολεῖν 'I rescued mortals from going...' (cf. 865-6): τοῦ μὴ... or simply μὴ... (as at 248) would also be possible; cf. Smyth §2739-2744 (also 627, 787nn., for the negative forms). Just what P. did to save mankind from being 'smashed' (cf. 189, 56n.) is not stated; but it was enough in itself to bring about his punishment (237): only at 247-52 is the theft of fire mentioned. Perhaps, as in Hesiod's account, Zeus hid fire from mankind in retaliation for this first philanthropic transgression by P.; or perhaps a preceding play filled in the details. As it stands, the account here is too brief and allusive for us to be sure (cf. 232-3n.).

Some MSS give ἐξερυσάμην, which gives good sense ('I protected', somewhat more natural than ἐξελευσάμην of rescuing someone from *future* troubles, though for this cf. Hom. *Od.* 10.286) but a doubtful form, in place of the regular ἐξερρυσάμην: the parallels of Hom. *Il.* 5.344, *Od.* 14.279 ἐρύσατο, etc., are probably insufficient to justify the lack of augment here, since this is rare in tragic dialogue, and confined to messenger speeches (135n.).

**237** τῷ 'for this reason', as at Soph. *OT* 511 (cf. 234n.). The prosody τοῖαισδε is not uncommon, cf. 873 τοιόνδε, 935 ποεῖτω, 952 τοιούτοις (but στ at 96, 221, 1054, 1089). The alliteration (π, τ) adds force to P.'s indignation (88-92n.).

κάμπτομαι: P. is bent, but not broken (again 306, 512-13); contrast 189, 236, 995n. (and App. fr. viii. 23ff.).

**238** For the antithesis with variation (here plus chiasmus), cf. 197-8n. P. brings his explanation to a close with a verbal echo of his introduction (197 ἀλγινά / 238 ἀλγειναῖσιν, each + infinitive), in a sort of ring-composition.

**239-41** For the witty and ironical contrast, expressed in neat, almost gnomic form, cf. 85-6, 267, 469-71, 507-8. It is another variation on the opposition of human and divine (θνητούς/Ζηνί), cf. 10-11n.

**239** ἐνοῖκται προθέμενος: lit. 'having set up (mortals) before myself in pity', i.e. 'after showing pity ...' (see LSJ s.v. τίθημι B 11 3).

τούτου: i.e. οἴκτου.

**241** ἐρρύθμισμαι 'I have been brought into line', like a string being tuned, or a crooked line being straightened, to restore the desired shape or symmetry; cf. *Inscr. Cret.* 1 p. 118.35 (Lato, second century B.C.) ἐρευνῖοντες καὶ ρυθμῖττοντες ..., of criminal correction. For the possible connection of ρυθμός with ῥύομαι ('hold in check'), see R. Renehan, *C.P.* 58 (1963) 36-8.

~~ὅτε~~: cf. 69n., 304.

The last two lines of P.'s speech neatly respond to the Chorus' words of 194-5: νηλεὺς ὦδε/οὕτως ἀτίμως καὶ πικρῶς: but whereas there Zeus was seen as 'humiliating' P., here, after the true story has been heard, it is Zeus' own reputation which is impugned (Ζηνί δυσκλεής).

**242-6** The *koryphaïos* repeats her expression of pity and sympathy, 243 echoing 162, 244-5 echoing 238.

**242** Hard-hearted people are regularly likened to iron or stone, or both, from Homer onwards; so e.g. Medea is πέτρος ἢ σίδαρος (Eur. *Med.* 1279; cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.33-5 θάλασσα ... πέτρη, 24.205 σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ, Horace, *Od.* 1.3.9 *robur et aes triplex*, with the n. of R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard; see too 1001 with n.). Wilamowitz's τοι for τε is livelier, and may be right.

**245** ἡλγύνθην κέαρ 'my heart was pained', almost another 'dramatic' aorist (181n.); for the construction, see 171n.

**246** καὶ μὲν ‘Yes, indeed ...’ (*GP* 353–4, cf. 982, 1080nn.). φίλοις γ’ (Cobet) ‘to my friends at least ...’, might be expected here.

**247–57** In a short stichomythia, the Chorus learn of P.’s specific gifts to mankind.

**247** ‘Didn’t you perhaps (που) in fact (καί) go somewhat (τι, cf. 196n.) beyond what you have just said?’ μή (or μή οὐ) + indicative may express a cautious assertion or suspicion (*GMT* §269, Smyth §1772), as e.g. 959–60, Aesch. *Ag.* 683.

**248** γ’ ‘Well, yes ...’ (254n.).

μὴ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον ‘from foreseeing their death’ (236n.). In Plato, *Gorg.* 523d the story is told how Zeus took steps to correct the injustices of the old system, whereby men were judged (for assignation to the Isles of the Blessed or to Tartarus) by other men, just before they died, and were thus able to confuse and mislead their judges: ‘first (said Zeus) we must stop (παυστέον) men from foreknowing their death (προειδόμενος ... τὸν θάνατον): as it is now, they do foreknow it. So I have instructed Prometheus to put a stop to this.’ (Zeus then arranges for men to die without warning, and to be judged after their death by other dead souls, free from bodily distractions.) See further 250n. The motif is not found elsewhere in Greek.

**249** As often in stichomythia, one speaker continues the construction of the other; thus εὐρών agrees with the subject of ἔπαυσα.

τὸ ποῖον: ‘the article makes ποῖον definite, not “what remedy”, but “what is this remedy”’; cf. Soph. *OT* 120, *El.* 370’ (Sikes and Willson); cf. P.T. Stevens, *C.Q.* 31 (1937) 185–6.

νόσου: metaphorical, as at 225, 384, 1069 (and, to a lesser degree, 596, 606, 632, 977; see too 924n.). Behaviour which is strange, undesirable, or perverse is ‘unhealthy, sick’ (cf. 133–4n.; *Introd.* p. 20).

**250** Once again, Hesiod’s account is significantly altered (*Introd.* pp. 5–6). At *WD* 90–105, we are told how Pandora was created and sent to mortals in return for P.’s theft of fire, and how she released from her jar ‘all the evils and labours and diseases which brought death to men’ (these had previously been unknown to them). Only Hope remained in



the jar, by Zeus' planning (99). (For the problems of this passage, in particular the confusion as to why Hope should have been in the jar at all, see West *ad loc.*, A. S. F. Gow in *Essays and studies presented to William Ridgeway*, ed. E. C. Quiggin (Cambridge 1913) 99–109.) But here P. has given Hope as well as fire, i.e. psychological as well as physical aid toward a better life (see 82n.). Hopes are 'blind' because they allow mankind not to 'foresee' their death (248), i.e. to act without constantly being aware of the exact limits on their aspirations: only if they forget about death, at least for some of the time, can they proceed to live with any zest. Cf. Horace, *Od.* 3.29.29–30 *prudens futuri temporis exitum | caliginosa nocte premit deus* ('fore-seeing god holds back the outcome of the future in dark night'), *prudens* (*providens*) recalling προδέρκεσθαι here.

In Semonides fr. 1.3–7 West, and Solon fr. 13.36 West, Hopes are deceptive and empty distractions from reality; in Hesiod, Hope seems to be a blessing withheld from men so that their life should be the more dreary and depressing. At Theognis 1135ff., Hope is a boon: ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν, | ἄλλοι δ' Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν . . . (obviously a variation on *WD* 90ff.; see too Antiphon Orator 6.5); and, to judge from the Chorus' reaction (251), which is nowhere contradicted in the play, that is how we are to see ἐλπίδες here. The 'Forethinker' not only gave man technology, but also hope for the future, without which nobody would 'think ahead'. Nevertheless, the discussion of Hope remains curiously brief and undeveloped: cf. Parmenides B 6.3–9 (and *Testimonium* to B 4 DK), Emped. B 2.6–7?

**251** ὠφέλημα: here, and at 501, 507, 613, we find ὠφέλ- in the sense of 'benefiting mankind', a usage which later became almost a technical term in sophistic discussion of man's cultural and economic development, corresponding to εὐεργεσία (cf. too φιλόανθρωπος, 11, 28, with S. Tromp de Ruiter, *Mnem.* 59 (1932) 271–306); see O. Skard, *Symb. Oslo.* 27 (1949) 11–18, Griffith 217–18. At 44, 222, 342 the use is less specific.

**254** ὦφ' οὐ γε 'Yes, and from it . . .' γε is often used 'in affirmative answers to questions or statements, adding something to the bare affirmation. . . . This form of ellipse is exceedingly common . . . in stichomythia, where economy of space is an important consideration' (*GP* 133). Again at 42, 73, 248, 256, 307, 379, 746, 931; see too 77, 258nn.

ἐκμαθήσονται: the future tense reminds us how recent is this gift of fire:

man has yet to learn the various technological applications of it (110-11, 614n.). At 477ff. P. speaks as if this were already accomplished (though he does not make specific mention of such fire-related arts as pottery and metal-working, 500-3n., also 714-15 σιδηροτέκτονες ... Χάλυβες with n.). It appears from 247-54 that P. is not simply the πρῶτος εὐρετής (450-506n.) of technology; rather he has put human beings on the road towards civilization (498 ὥδωσα), a road which they must now travel for themselves, relying on their own wits, feeble though these may be. There is an unmistakable sense of *progress*, from savagery to culture, which is not a simple, once-for-all gift from the gods; see further Introd. p. 9 and 450-506n.

**255-6** An extreme example of syntax running over from one line to the next in stichomythia (249n., cf. Eur. *Ion* 271-2, *Cycl.* 541-2, Griffith 138-9): with αἰκίζεται γε, P. completes the *koryphaios*' sentence (and thus finally, almost impatiently, answers her original question of 194-5 ποίωι ... ἐπ' αἰτιάματι ... αἰκίζεται; but in the second half of the line he introduces a new point, which leads to further questions (257-66). The MSS give 255-7 all to the Chorus, but the dialogue is crisper if P. speaks 256 (with γε a certain correction for τε, cf. 254n.), and the formal one-line symmetry is thus maintained.

χαλαῖ could be transitive (like αἰκίζεται) or intransitive; cf. 176n.

**256-8** These lines suggest (like 94-100, 165-7, 183-5, and later 375-6) that the initiative for P.'s release lies solely with Zeus. But at 175-7, 187-92, P. has raised the possibility that Zeus may himself come under pressure (cf. 515-20), and later (755-74, 957-8) he baldly describes Zeus' overthrow as if it is certain. In each case, the prediction remains the same - P. will be released *when Zeus says so* (see 771-2, with n.) - but the audience are kept in suspense as to how the differing hints about the future can be reconciled and resolved.

**257** τέρμα ... προκείμενον: see 98-100, 755-6nn.

**258** οὐκ ... γ' 'None at any rate except ...'

**259** δόξει δὲ πῶς:: (cf. 41 οἷόν τε πῶς;, with n.). The word-order gives emphasis to δόξει, which picks up δοκῇ (258); cf. 36-87n.

**260** ἤμαρτες 'you went wrong'.; see 8-gn.

**260-1** οὐτ' ἐμοὶ... σοὶ τ' ἄλγος: see 197-8 with n. Here the variation is greater, the *anaphora* minimal.

**262** μεθώμεν 'let us drop this subject' (μεθίημι).

ζήτει: presumably the Chorus want P. to act more submissively, cf. 315-16 ὀργᾶς ἄφεσ|ζήτει δὲ... ἀπαλλαγᾶς. ζητέω, not found in Aeschylus (only διζημαί, *Supp.* 821), occurs three times in *Prom.*

**263-76** P. ignores the Chorus' attempt to change the subject (260-2), and in 263-70 reverts to their questions of 259-60, though these were really intended more as expressions of dismay and disbelief than as genuine inquiries ('epiplectic' questions, in the terminology of Mastronarde 13-14). He then goes on to introduce the topic of his future fate (271-6), and the Chorus eagerly prepare to listen (282-3): but the promised account is unexpectedly postponed because of a sudden interruption (283n.), not to be resumed until 511ff., and then only briefly and enigmatically; in the mean time, P. and the Chorus spend almost a whole scene alone together (436-506) devoted to P.'s further descriptions of the past. See 298-9, 630nn., and Mastronarde 79-80, who concludes: 'These uncomfortable joins and misdirections ... seem to be deliberately intended. ... P.'s manner of conversing with others is indicative of a certain degree of αὐθαδία ... Furthermore, the repeated false starts in getting particular topics actually discussed function as part of the pattern of piecemeal revelation.'

**263-5** '(It is) easy (for him) who has kept his feet out of trouble, to give advice ...' Two *gnomai* are here combined: 'Keep your feet out of the mud' (e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 697 ἔξω κομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα), and 'It is easy for you to say ...' (e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 1078 ῥᾶιον παραινεῖν ἢ παθόντα καρτερεῖν, *HF* 1249 σὺ δ' ἐκτὸς ὧν γε συμφορᾶς με νουθετεῖς). The lines are apparently imitated in fr. trag. adesp. 342 Ν ἐλαφρόν παραινεῖν τῷ κακῶς πεπραγότι. M. Platnauer, *C.R.* 4 (1954) 207-8 suggests ἐλαφρόν, ὅστις, ... ἔχων, παραινεῖ νουθετεῖ τε ... giving more normal syntax (see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 426-7). But the MSS reading is not too harsh and may be retained.

**265** εὖ: this (Elmsley's) correction, or Stanley's (see *app. crit.*), of the unmetrical MSS reading πράσσοντας ἐγώ, seem equally probable.

ἅπαντ' ἠπιστάμην: cf. 101 πάντα προυξέπισταμαι. Before he acted, P. knew well the significance of what he was doing; but he did not realize quite how terrible his punishment would be (268–70).

**266** ἐκὼν ἐκὼν ἥμαρτον: 'I made this mistake *on purpose*', a striking oxymoron which challenges the criteria of right and wrong held by the Chorus (260) and by Kratos (9). The implications seem to be as follows: 'I did what I did (i.e. provided help to mortals, harm to myself) of my own choice (ἐκὼν), even though this action failed to match what was expected of me.' It is very tempting to see a reference here to the Socratic paradox, οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν ἁμαρτάνει (Plato, *Prot.* 345d, *Gorg.* 509e etc.); cf. 8–9n. The *anadiplosis* of ἐκὼν (perhaps an unintended echo of 218) adds emphasis, cf. 274, 338, 999 (and, in lyrics, 577, 594, 688, 887, 894); see Griffith 194–5. The asyndeton shows that this statement goes closely with the preceding, as an explanation, as 235, 308–9, 698, 870, 920–1, 989.

**267** ἡύρόμην: neat, and ironic: to human beings P. gave all sorts of beneficial 'discoveries' (εὕρισκω, ἐξεύρισκω 249, 460, 468, 469, 503), while for himself he discovered nothing but hardship; cf. 239–41n. The word-order effectively gives weight to αὐτός, the pivot of both line and sense.

**268–9** οὐ μὲν ... γ' 'And yet I certainly didn't think ...' (*GP* 334–5). The emphasis falls on τοῖαισι: punishment of some sort was anticipated (266–7), but nothing like this (268–79).

τι 'at all, in any way' (cf. 196 τι, with n.)

ὠϊόμην ... με κατισχνανεῖσθαι: more normal would be nominative + infinitive, without pronoun; for parallels, see Soph. *El.* 470–1, *Tr.* 706 (with Jebb *ad loc.*, who suggests that the effect is 'merely to give a certain objectivity ... The speaker ... can see himself as others see him.'). For κατισχνανεῖσθαι (future middle for passive, cf. 860–1n.) cf. 147 προσαιυνόμενον in similar context.

πεδαρσίοις: (see 710, 916) πεδα- for μετα- is generally Aeolic, but Aeschylus and Euripides have several examples. (Attic prose would use μετέωρος.)

**271** μοι: 'ethic' dative, almost 'please' (cf. 83–4, Smyth §1486).

**272** πέδοι δὲ βᾶσαι: the words strongly suggest that the Chorus are still (actually, or in our imagination) sitting in their cars (279 θάκον), hovering up in the air (128–92, 284–396nn.).

**274** Urgent *anadiplosis* (266n.) and *asyndeton* (56n.). P. is eager for the continued sympathy of the Oceanids (162n.).

**274–6** 'Share the troubles of the one who is suffering these (sufferings) now, since misery roams unpredictably around, and settles on different people in turn', i.e. 'you could be next'. πλανάω can be used of fevers which recur at irregular intervals (Hdt. 6.52, and Jebb on Soph. *Ph.* 758). ταῦτά (or ταῦτά) τοι πλανωμένη in the MSS makes no sense as an adverbial accusative: (with ταῦτά, Wecklein translates, 'for all alike . . .'; but this is very strained.) Better would be πυκνά (Weil) or perhaps πολλά ('wandering much', cf. 45 πολλά μισηθεῖσα and 505 πολυπλανήης). But Blaydes's ταῦτ', ἐπεὶ . . . with characteristic enjambement (as 384 ἐπεὶ, *Introd.* p. 27), seems more satisfactory.

**277–83** *Metre*: anapaests from the Chorus, as they begin to dismount (128–92n.), in response to P.'s invitation (272).

**277** οὐκ ἀκούσαις 'far from reluctant' (143n.).  
ἐπεθύουξας: see 73n.

**281** πελῶ 'I shall approach' (Attic future of πελάζω).

**283** διὰ παντός ἀκούσαι echoes 273 ἀκούσαθ' ὥς μάθητε διὰ τέλους τὸ πᾶν.

The expectations of the Chorus, and of the audience, have now been aroused for a description of the 'approaching fortunes' of P. (272, 282): but these expectations remain unfulfilled until 755ff., 907ff. Indeed, the Chorus take no part at all in the next scene (284–396), and are probably out of sight behind the *skene* (128–92, 284–396nn.). This device for maintaining suspense is rather crude, but effective (see 630n., *Introd.* pp. 16–19).

**284–396: The Ocean Scene**

Ocean suddenly arrives, full of offers of sympathy, advice, and help. P. declines his offers, reminding him at some length of the examples of Atlas and Typhos, two others who aroused Zeus' displeasure. After a short, final stichomythia, Ocean leaves, with nothing accomplished, nothing changed.

Ocean's dramatic function is essentially that of a 'warner', a friend whose sensible advice or warning is rejected by the tragic hero (see *Introd.* p. 11). The scene serves primarily to contrast P.'s inflexible and independent character with that of the more diplomatic and malleable Ocean, and to demonstrate just how difficult P.'s attitude will make any attempt to reconcile him with Zeus. Apart from this, little of real dramatic substance occurs in the Episode, and it is difficult to judge its overall function and effect. Ocean cuts a slightly ridiculous figure at times, with his aerial transport and gnomic platitudes (286–7, 394–7; 309, 319–20, 323, 329, 378, 385), though the comedy may not be intended, and the scene is not primarily to be regarded as comic or ironical (as some critics have seen it). It is true that Ocean's protestations of loyalty (296–7, 337–9) turn out to be exaggerated, but his change of heart is a result of P.'s uncompromising attitude, and of the grim realities of Zeus' rule – and not least too of P.'s caustic and uncooperative responses. Ocean's reaction (abandoning his intended visit to Zeus and intercession on P.'s behalf, in favour of return home) is only what should be expected of a well-meaning but prudent friend, not given to futile gestures of self-sacrifice. (That is not to say that we are not agreeably surprised and impressed when some other friends of P., who have promised less, and of whom less is expected than of Ocean, do choose to risk Zeus' anger in standing by P. in a moment of peril; see 1068–70n., and n.b. 1068 τοὺς προδότες – is that how the Chorus would characterize their father?)

According to Hesiod, Ocean is son of Uranus and Gaia, and father, by Tethys, of three thousand river-nymphs (*Th.* 133, 337ff.); see 137–40n. One of these nymphs, Clymene, is wife of Iapetus, and mother of P. But in our play, he is father of P.'s wife Hesione (559–60), and of the Chorus (136–40), while his relationship to the other gods, in particular to Kronos and Zeus, is far from clear (331n.). Although he is one

of the older generation, he has apparently escaped Zeus' anger, and claims to enjoy access to his ear (338-9).

Like the Chorus (128-92n.), Ocean is represented as entering above ground level, seated on winged transport (in his case, it appears, a griffin, 286n.). If the actor is not actually up in the air, 286-7 and 394-7 are pointless, indeed ridiculous; it is more than likely that he was swung into view (probably from behind the *skene*) on the *μηχανή*, a sort of crane (*γέρανός*) employed for divine epiphanies or other flying entries in tragedy and comedy, e.g. Bellerophon, Perseus, Trygaeus (Aristoph. *Peace*); see Arnott 72ff., Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 41, 127-8, Taplin 260-2. Ocean is thus perhaps approaching P. on a different level, and from a different direction, from that of the departing Chorus: in any case, there is a complete lack of contact between them. Indeed, after P. tells the Chorus to 'come down to earth' (272) and they agree to 'leave the air, holy pathway of the birds' (280), we hear no more from them until they sing the lyrics of 397ff. Usually in tragedy the *koryphaios* participates in the dialogue between two actors, whether introducing their speeches (as at 698-9), or commenting on them (as at 1036-9), or providing a transition from one topic to another (632-4, 745, 782-5, 819-22; see too 687-95, 1063-70). But here the daughters of Ocean make no mention of their father's arrival, take no part in the dialogue, and make no reference to anything that he has said: this despite their remarks about him earlier (130-1, 133-4) and later (531). It seems likely from these indications that the Chorus are absent from the acting area between 284 and 396 (Griffith 134-5, 144-5; also schol. M 272a, M 284b Herington, and 128-92n. above).

This arrival out of the blue comes as a complete surprise to P. (298-9n.), and to the audience too. Unless a preceding play has given Ocean some role as ally to P. (see 331n.), he is one of the last characters that would be expected to appear in a play about P. and Zeus. (For the possibility of a corresponding scene with Ge in *P. Lyomenos*, see App. p. 286, fr. 111a and n.). Up until this point, no new character has entered since the opening scene (193-6n.); nor has any hint been given as to who the main characters of this play will be. This technique of presenting separate, almost detachable, Episodes, with surprise entries (and lack of entries) is in contrast with the usual methods of construction practised by Aeschylus and Sophocles (see further Introd. p. 13).

**284-97** *Metre:* anapaests, accompanying Ocean's movement into view (120-7, 561-5nn.), as he gives the reasons for making the 'long journey' (284) from the bottom of the Ocean-stream (133-4, 299-301nn.). The explanatory *ἦκω* (284, plus name at 296; see 2n.) quickly informs the audience who this new character is, and why he is here (Griffith 118-19, with nn. 72-75).

**285** *διαμειψάμενος* 'having reached' (governing *τέρμα*). *ἀμείβω*, *ἀμείβομαι* can be used both of 'entering' and 'leaving' (LSJ s.v. A 3, B 11 2).

**286** *πτερυγακή τόνδ' οἰωνόν*: cf. 395 *τετρασκελής ὀϊωνός*. It is possible that *οἰωνός* is in both cases metaphorical, and that a winged horse, such as sometimes draws Poseidon's chariot, or a sea-horse (*ἱππόκαμπος*, see *RE* VIII s.v.), is meant. But more likely Ocean is supposed to be riding on a griffin (like Apollo, cf. *RE* VII s.v. *Gryps* 1925-7; also 803-6n.). The scholiasts here, and at Hom. *Od.* 5.453, have no doubt that a griffin was used, though they may well just be guessing. In any case, the apparition is unusual for the tragic stage (though we may think of e.g. the chariot of the sun at the end of Eur. *Med.*, or the appearance of Pegasus in Eur. *Andromeda*, parodied by Aristoph. *Thesm.*). Ocean either remains seated on his steed throughout this scene (cf. 394 *ψαίπει* with n.), or dismounts at the conclusion of his anapaests (297) and remounts at 397.

**287** 'guiding (this bird) by thought, without reins'. This magical beast, like the ships of the Phaeacians, or the tripods of Hephaestus (Hom. *Od.* 8.559, *Il.* 18.376), knows its master's wishes spontaneously.

**289** *τὸ...ξυγγενέας* 'our family relationship', (cf. 14n., 39). Ocean is half-brother to P. (through mother Earth); he is also, we learn later, his father-in-law (559-60).

**291** 'There is nobody to whom I should pay greater respect than to you.' For *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις* + potential optative without *ἄν* (only in poetry, perhaps inherited from Homer) see *GMT* §241, Smyth §1822. (For *μοῖρα*, see 511-12n.)



**293** γνώσει δὲ τόδ' ὥς ἔτυμ' 'You shall learn that these things (are) true.' ὥς ἔτυμα go too closely together for true diaeresis to exist between them; so we have an unusual overlapping of two short syllables from one metron into the next (172, 295nn., and Griffith 70-1).

**294** ἔνι (= ἔνεστι) μοι 'is in my character' (cf. 224).

ἔερε 'come now ...' (again 544).

**295** σήμαιν' 'tell me', as at 564, 618, 684, 763, all imperative (also 605 τέκμηρον), as quite often in Sophocles and Euripides, but never in Aeschylus (Griffith 121).

χρή σοι συμπράσσειν 'what I must do to help you' (162n.). Since σοι is enclitic, there is another unusual overlap of metron-diaeresis (293n.), this time by one long syllable.

**296-7** Ὀκεανοῦ: the third person is more emphatic and assured than ἐμοῦ (as 506, 588, 608, 612; also 304 etc.), and at the same time the audience is neatly informed who this new arrival is.

φίλος: see 284-396, 1068-70nn.; and for the theme of φιλία, see 224-5n., Introd. pp. 14-15.

**298-306** As the scene continues in iambic trimeters, P. repeats several phrases from the previous episodes: 298-9 πόνων ἐμῶν ἐπόπτης, 302 θεωρήσων / 118 πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός; 303 συνασχαλῶν κακοῖς / 162 ξυνασχαλαὶ κακοῖς; 304 δέρκου θέαμα / 69 ὁρᾷς θέαμα; 304 τὸν Διὸς φίλον / 120 τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν; 306 οἶαις ... πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι/237 τοιαῖσδε πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι (307-29n.). The effect is curiously static: P. is restating a position which has not changed. The rhetorical shape of P.'s speech of greeting is well structured: at first abrupt and unsettled, with short sentences, enjambement, and rhetorical questions all conveying agitation and surprise; then, picking up from 303 κακοῖς, three end-stopped lines of more formal address, comprising a single period of four cola in crescendo, which effectively conveys the more resolute and defiant sense of indignation and intransigence.

**298-9** ἔα· τί χρεῖμα 'Hey, what is this I see?' (114n.; cf. e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 10, Eur. *Hipp.* 905, *HF* 525, and Stevens 21-2, 33, Griffith 198). P. speaks as if he has not heard Ocean's address to him; and he takes no

notice of the inquiry of 294–5; see Mastronarde 79. Perhaps he is only now able actually to see him (115, 284–396nn.), though he has probably been visible to the audience at least since 284. P. is surprised at Ocean's arrival, partly because any spectator (ἐπόπτης) in this remote region would be unexpected, and because Ocean in particular (καὶ σὺ δὴ) is apparently not remarkable for his courage and independence (πῶς ἐτόλμησας). At Hom. *Il.* 20.7, at a gathering of gods, only Ocean is absent, presumably because he is not free to leave his abode (as Hestia at Plato, *Phaedr.* 247a); so perhaps he was traditionally known as a lone and remote figure. (See too 331n.)

**299–301** Ocean is bold to leave his 'naturally-formed, rock-roofed caves' in the Ocean-stream (for ρεῦμα, see 137–40n.; for ἄντρα, 133–4n.) to undertake a long journey to visit this remote cliff-top.

σιδηρομήτορα... αἶαν: Scythia is the 'mother of iron' (714–15 with n.).

**303** συνασχαλῶν: probably future participle of συνασχάλλω, rather than present of συνασχαλάω (see 162, 764nn.).

**304** δέρκου θέαμα: 69n., cf. 241 θέα. θέαμα sarcastically echoes θεωρήσων (302, cf. 118, 802), with its connotations of 'sight-seeing'.

**304–6** A pointed summary of 199–225 (συγκαταστήσαντα corresponding to 218 συμπαραστατεῖν), again expressive of P.'s disgust at the way his former friend and ally (224–5n.) is treating him now that he has gained the tyranny.

τόνδε: i.e. 'me', as often in tragic dialogue (cf. 296–7n.).

**307–29** Ocean's speech too repeats several phrases from earlier in the play (298–306n.): 307 ὁρῶ. Προμηθεῦ / 144 λεύσσω. Προμηθεῦ; 307–8 παραινέσαι ... τὰ λῶιστα / 204 τὰ λῶιστα βουλευῶν; 316 ζητεῖ ... πημάτων ἀπαλλαγὰς / 262–3 ἄθλου δ' ἐκλυσιν ζητεῖ ...

In his first speech (284–97), Ocean presented his credentials as a φίλος, and thus as a source of consolation: he offered sympathy (288) and help (294–5); now he offers advice (307 παραινέσαι). Paraenetic speeches conventionally are based as much on general truths (*gnomai*) and well-chosen examples (*paradeigmata*), as on *ad hoc* reasoning. So in Ocean's speech we find *gnomai* at 309–10, 319–20, 322–3, 329; but it is P. who provides the mythological examples (347–72).

**307-8** ὁρῶ: answering 304; cf. 144n. For καὶ . . . γε see 254n.

ποικίλῳι 'subtle', cf. 18-20n. Ocean means that P. is not too clever to benefit from good advice.

**309-10** γίνωσκε σεαυτὸν 'Recognize who (or what) you are', an iambic version of the dactylic γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, a *gnome* attributed to one of the Seven Wise Men, inscribed over the entrance to Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi (cf. 327n.), and regularly quoted to admonish the proud or ambitious to recognize their limitations. Note the 'explanatory' asyndeton (266n.).

μεθάρμοσαι τρόπους | νέους 'modify your ways (into) new (ones)', with νέους proleptic (Smyth §1579: cf. 462-3, 910, 1023, 1025); cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1157 νῦν γὰρ μεθηρμόσμεσθα βελτίῳ βίον.

νέους· νέος γάρ . . . : *polyptoton* (29n.) combined with *anastrophe* (Smyth §3011). The point is, not that Zeus' ways are newer and more enlightened than the old ways (as in Hesiod, *Theogony*), but that he is young, his tyranny not yet secure (35n.): P. is being asked to change with the times.

**311-14** Four lines express the negative alternative (warning) to the two lines of positive advice on each side (309-10, 315-16), i.e. a b a.

**311-12** εἰ . . . ῥίψει: εἰ + future indicative here signifies a warning (Smyth §2328, *GMT* §447); for ῥίπτω in this sense of 'firing off (words) at random', 'hurling abuse', etc., cf. 932 ἐκρίπτων ἔπη and LSJ s.v. ῥίπτω v; also 1088-90n.

τραχεῖς καὶ τεθηγμένους λόγους 'rough and sharpened (θήγω) words'. τραχύς, previously used of Zeus, is now applied to P. (35n.); the metaphor of 'sharpening' a tongue (or mind), like a sword (or spear, or arrow?, cf. ῥίψει), is not uncommon in tragedy (cf. 866 ἀπ-αμβλυνθήσεται, with n., Dumortier (1) 173).

**312-13** 'Even though he sits far up above, Zeus may perhaps hear you.' (For ἄν . . . κλύοι as apodosis of future condition, see *GMT* §505, Smyth §2326.) Zeus traditionally sees and hears everything (cf. 53 with n.): and Ocean's fears are proved correct at 944ff., cf. 193-6n.

**313-14** 'So that the present mass of sufferings (will) seem to you to be

mere child's play'; i.e. Zeus will make them worse. *χόλον* ... *μόχθων* in the MSS is very awkward ('Zeus' present anger (consisting) of sufferings'): *δχλον* is greatly preferable, cf. 827 *δχλον* ... *λόγων*.

**315** *ἄς ἔχεις ὀργὰς ἄφες* 'give up your present attitude', (not quite 'anger', 79–80n.).

**316** (Cf. 262.) *πημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴ* recurs at 754, and cf. 471, 749–50, 773 (Griffith 199).

**317** *ἀρχαῖ* 'old-fashioned', i.e. 'stupid', a connotation not found elsewhere before the late fifth century (e.g. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1336, Thuc. 7.69.2; see 383 *εὐηθία* with n., Introd. p. 34, and Griffith 217–21, esp. 219).

*τάδε*: best taken as looking forward to 318–19 (see n. on *μέντοι*): 'Perhaps what I am going to say sounds old-fashioned...'

**318–19** 'Really, you know (*μέντοι*), such (sufferings) as these, P., are the wages of a too-high-speaking tongue.' (For *ἐπίχειρα*, cf. 223 *τιμαῖς*, with n.) P. is *αἰχυμήτης* (18n.), and his tongue strikes others as being *ἄγαν ὑπήγορος* (cf. 180 *ἐλευθεροστομεῖς* with n., 327, 329, 360–1, 947–8, 1054–7).

*μέντοι*: the particle is probably confirming the proverbial (gnomic) truth of 318–19, and going closely with *τοιαῦτα* (cf. 252, 949, 964, 1054, and *GP* 399, 404 n.1). Alternatively, if *τάδε* (317) looks back to 315–16 (see 317n.), then *μέντοι* is adversative, 'yet...', a usage found only in later tragedy, not in Aeschylus (*GP* 404).

**320** *σὺ δ' οὐδέπω ταπεινός* (sc. *εἰ*, 42n.) 'Men are also mild (*πρᾶος*) to those who humble themselves towards them (*τοῖς ταπεινουμένοις πρὸς αὐτούς*) and do not contradict them; for they seem thereby to be agreeing that they are inferior ... Dogs too demonstrate that anger ceases in the face of those who humble themselves (*πρὸς τοῖς ταπεινουμένους παύεται ἡ ὀργή*), in that they do not bite those who are sitting down' (Aristot. *Rhet.* 2.3.6.1380a); see too 35n., 908. Ocean's view of P. is comparable to Hephaestus' view of Kratos, and expressed in similar form (42; cf. too 178), though *οὐδέπω* suggests the possibility of future change.

οὐδ' εἴκεις κακοῖς: cf. 179 δύναισιν οὐδέν ἐπιχαλαῖς, and e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 472 εἴκειν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς (also *Ant.* 712–13). For this unbending quality of many tragic heroes, especially in Sophocles, see Knox 15ff.

**321** πρὸς τοῖς παροῦσι δ' (sc. κακοῖς) 'On top of your present troubles ...' The first three words go so closely together that δέ can be postponed to fourth position, as again at 381 (*GP* 185–6).

**322–4** Two gnomic remarks, each clearly sign-posted (322 'If you take my advice ...', 323 'Seeing that ...' at line-end, cf. 43n.). The first rephrases the proverb μὴ λάκτιζε πρὸς κέντρα (Aesch. *Ag.* 1624, Eur. *Ba.* 795, etc., cf. *Introd.* p. 21); the second is more specific, and shows that even the diplomatic Ocean sees Zeus as τραχὺς (35n.) and undemocratic in his exercise of power (cf. 150n., 186–7).

οὔκουν... γε: see 518n.

διδασκάλοι: Ocean is constantly giving or looking for 'lessons' (317, 391, and 284–396n.; see too 609–12n.).

**325–6** πειράσομαι | ἐὰν δύνωμαι 'I will try in the hope that I can ...' (*GMT* §487, 489, Smyth §2354).

**327** μὴδ' ἄγαν λαβροστόμει: cf. 180 ἄγαν ἐλευθεροστομεῖς, 318–19 τῆς ἄγαν ὑψηγόρου γλώσσης (with n.), 953 σεμνόστομος ... μῦθος. The general maxim (μὴδέν ἄγαν) is neatly adapted to the particular context (see 72, 309–10nn.).

**328–9** A final, predictable *gnome*, again formally sign-posted (οὐκ οἶσθα ... ὅτι...; see nn. on 43, 284–396, 377–8).

ἢ οὐκ: one syllable, in *synizesis*, as often; cf. 393–6n. (τᾶν), 627, 787, etc. μὴ οὐ.

ἀκριβῶς: it is easier to take this with οἶσθα ('know for certain') than with περισσόφρων ('extremely over-wise', cf. 944 πικρῶς ὑπέρπικρον). For the ironical play on P.'s useless intelligence, see 85–6, 267, 335–6, 469–75; also 239–41n.

γλώσσηι ματαῖαι: μάταιος (usually, but not always, two-termination) is used of someone or something which fails to achieve any useful result (so 36 μάτην, 58 ματαῖ), often of 'empty words', as opposed to deeds, but occasionally with a stronger sense of 'foolish, misguided' (e.g. Aesch.

*Eum.* 337 αὐτουργίαι μάταιοι, *Soph. Tr.* 565 ματαίαις χερσίν). To Ocean, as to the Chorus (178-80), P.'s tongue is too free for safety: it is both ineffectual and dangerous. Under a reign such as Zeus', reticence and equivocation are better rewarded (16-17, 49-50, 385-6, 953-4); see 49, 318-19, 404-5nn.

**330** 'I regard you as fortunate that you are free from blame.'

**331** This line is intended to explain 330; but as it stands in the MSS it presents two major problems (see J. D. Denniston, *C.R.* 47 (1933) 164). (i) ἐμοί can go with τετολμηκώς only if we mentally supply another μετα- (or συν-), i.e. 'having *shared* in my whole enterprise', as *Soph. Ant.* 537 καὶ συμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας (with Jebb's n.), *Eur. IT* 684-5 κούκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ χρή συνεκπνεῦσαί μέ σοι | καὶ σὺν σφαγῇναι καὶ πυρωθῆναι δέμας: see R. Renehan, *Greek textual criticism* (Harvard 1969) 77-85. (To take ἐμοί only with μετασχών, and understand καὶ τετολμηκώς as a virtual parenthesis διὰ μέσου (see Fraenkel on *Aesch. Ag.* 318) would be most awkward.) (ii) More serious, the sense is hard to reconcile with the context of the play and the trilogy: what daring enterprise has Ocean shared with P. that might have led to his incurring blame? At 234, P. made it clear that he was alone in protecting mankind, and it is for this that he is punished. According to Hesiod, Ocean took no part in the Titanomachy. So, unless a preceding play has given him a special role, to which 331 now refers, his 'bold enterprise' must be his present visit to P., itself an expression of sympathy (381-2, 388). In this case, it is best to read μετασχεῖν rather than μετασχών as in the MSS: 'having in fact (καὶ) dared to share in all (my troubles)' (πάντων, for which Weil suggested πόνων, Wecklein τούτων). Denniston's οὐ τετολμηκώς would be another solution. But it is possible that more extensive corruption, even a lacuna, may have affected the passage, especially since καὶ νῦν (332) leads us to expect a reference to the past in 331.

**332** ἔασον 'let things be'.

**333** νιν: i.e. Zeus, never far from anyone's thoughts in this play.

οὐ γὰρ εὐπιθής: (see 34n.) P. assumes that Ocean will try persuasion to secure P.'s freedom (325-6); but he knows that only the threat of force will succeed (167-71, 189-92 with 192n.).

**334** 'Watch out that you aren't yourself hurt in some way (196n.) by your journey', cf. 330, 345-6, 388. The alliteration (π, τ, θ) gives a more insistent and urgent sound to these two lines (88-92n.).

**335-6** 'Yes, you are much better at advising those around you than yourself' (473-5n.).

ἔφους: lit. 'you were born', hence 'you are by nature' (cf. 969).

ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ: a conventional antithesis of sophistic rhetoric (again at 1080; cf. 533, 659-60nn., Griffith 196, 219).

**338** αὐτῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ 'I confidently expect ...' (see Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 1497). For the *anadiplosis*, see 266n.

**340-1** τὰ μὲν σ' ἐπαινῶ 'In one respect I praise you ...', μὲν answered by ἀτάρ, which is perhaps a little stronger than δέ (1011n.), especially in this abrupt Sophoclean enjambement.

**342-3** πόνει... πονήσεις... πονεῖν: the *polyptoton* (29n.) and repetition (971-2n.) underline the sense of wasted effort (so too μηδὲν... οὐδέν). The whole expression recalls that of the cynical Kratos to the well-meaning Hephaestus at 43-4. (The variant θέλοις here would be rather sceptical and sarcastic; θέλεις is better: 'if you really are willing to go to some trouble'.)

**344** ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε: now P. gives Ocean back some of his own advice (327 σὺ δ' ἡσύχαζε): 'don't make a stir'.

σπουτὸν ἐκποδὼν ἔχων 'and keep yourself out of the way', cf. 13 ἐμποδῶν.

**345** εἵνεκα: epic form of ἔνεκα, for metrical convenience (as 138, 1085 εἰλίσσω, 397 οὐλόμενος, 804 μουνῶν; see too 90n.). Some editors write οὐνεκα here and elsewhere in tragedy.

**346** ὥς πλείστοισι πημονῆς τυχεῖν 'that miseries happen to as many (others) as possible'. P. would derive no satisfaction from having others suffer as he does: already he is distressed by what has happened to two close relatives (347-74).

**347–72** P. reminds Ocean of the dangers involved in opposing Zeus, by referring to two relevant paradigms (540–1n.), his whole-brother Atlas (347–50) and half-brother Typhos (351–72). Both offer highly visible examples of Zeus' power and ruthlessness, and both happen also to correspond to geographical phenomena familiar to the audience.

Although the opening phrase of this account (347 οὐ δῆτα, 'far from it', cf. 770, 1075) would usually mark a change of speaker, and the MSS here give 347ff. to Ocean, the lines must be spoken by P., who is Atlas' brother (347) and obviously the one more personally involved. (At 1075 μὴ δῆτα does not signal a new speaker.)

**347–50** These lines appear to confuse three pictures of Atlas (see West on Hes. *Th.* 517, who distinguishes four): (i) Atlas the Titan supports the heavens on his shoulders (as Hes. *Th.* 517ff., Atlas 'holds the broad heavens through hard compulsion setting them on his head and untiring arms, at the edge of the earth, near the shrill-voiced Hesperides; this was the share which wise Zeus assigned him'. (ii) Atlas is set in charge of the pillars which hold the heavens apart from the earth, (as e.g. Hom. *Od.* 1.52ff., where Atlas, father of Calypso, 'keeps (or 'holds'?, ἔχει) the tall pillars which keep the earth and heaven all around' (? ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι). (iii) Atlas, the mountain, is the pillar (as Hdt. 4.184 τοῦτον τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι). In 347–50, Atlas is described as 'supporting the pillar (or 'twin pillars', κίονα or κιονε?) of heaven and earth on his shoulders', perhaps a misinterpretation of *Od.* 1.52ff. (see 64–5n.). In art too, Atlas was sometimes shown supporting both heaven and earth on his shoulders (as in Pausanias' description of the Chest of Cypselus, 5.18.4). See too App. fr. x1 n.

**349** κίον' οὐρανοῦ also recalls the Pindaric κίων οὐρανία (of Mt Aetna, resting on Typhos), in a passage (*P.* 1.17ff.) which is apparently imitated in *Prom.* 351ff. (364, 351–72nn.). The reference here to Atlas in the far West (348) perhaps prepares for Heracles' journey there to be mentioned in *P. Lyomenos* (App. p. 298); see too 425–30 with n.

**351–72** 'But after Zeus had driven the Titans from Heaven, mighty Earth bore her youngest child, Typhoeus . . . From his shoulders were a hundred snake-heads . . . and from all his heads fire burned as he stared . . ., etc.' (Hes. *Th.* 820–68). The description of Zeus' defeat of this



monster forms the climax of Zeus' *aristeia* in the *Theogony*, and symbolizes the final overthrow of chthonian savagery by Olympian civilization. The account in *Prom.* is clearly influenced by Hesiod: but it shows even closer links with Pind. *P.* 1.15-28 (see 351-2, 353, 364, 368, 371nn.). It is impossible to determine for certain which passage imitates which, though Pindar looks the more likely original (further Griffith, *Dionysiacs* 117-20; for arguments that both authors are drawing on an earlier epic source, now lost, see A. von Meiss, *Rh.M.* 56 (1901) 167-74, G. Zuntz, *The political plays of Eur.* (Manchester 1955) 59; *contra* Griffith, *Dionysiacs* 118-19). See further Apollod. 1.6.3, with Frazer's nn., Solmsen 131ff.

**351-2** γηγενή: as in Hes. *Th.* 821. (Stesichorus made Hera his mother, *PMG* 239.) Many of the monsters of Greek mythology are earthborn (though in *Prom.* so of course is P. himself); see 567, 677, and 151 πελώρια with n.

Κιλικίων οὐκλήτορα | ἔντρον: likewise, Pind. *P.* 1.16 'a Cilician cave reared him', (i.e. perhaps a volcanic area there); cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.783 εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφώος ἐμμέναι εὐνὰς (with W. Leaf's n.).

δαίον τέρας: (again at Eur. *Pho.* 1023, of the Sphinx). Before his overthrow, Typhos was a 'destructive monster' (cf. 921); after it, he is still dangerous and a source of amazement (367-72).

**353** ἑκατογκάρανον: as in Hes. *Th.* 825 ἑκατὸν κεφαλαί, Pind. *P.* 1.16 ἑκατοντοκάρανος, and elsewhere.

**354** Τυφῶνα: here he is called Τῦφός (so 370), as at Pind. *P.* 1. Sometimes he is Τῦφών or Τῦφοεύς (as in Hes. *Th.*); see LSJ s.vv., and West on Hes. *Th.* 820-80.

πᾶσιν ἀντέστη θεοῖς: the MSS have the unmetrical πᾶσιν δς ἀντέστη (or δς πᾶσιν ...). Headlam's θεὸς δς ἀντέστη involves the omission of πᾶσιν, which surely belongs. As for πᾶσι δ' ἀντέστη (Hermann), the relative would hardly have replaced the simple δέ; while Murray's τοῦρον Τυφῶν' δς πᾶσιν ... gives the unparalleled and improbable prosody Τῦφων' (cf. 370). Most likely, δς was inserted to ease the abrupt asyndeton of πᾶσιν ἀντέστη (hence the different positions of δς in the MSS). For this asyndeton, compare 235, 267, 472, 630, though it must be admitted that none is as harsh as this.

**355** *συρίζων φόβον* ‘hissing fear’, like a snake (Hes. *Th.* 825 *δφιος δεινοῖο δράκοντος*, 835 *ἄλλοτε δ’ αὖ βοίζεσκε* ... The figure (‘fear’ for ‘fearful sounds’) is metonymy (as e.g. Aesch. *Th.* 386 *κλάζουσι* ... *φόβον*). The alternative reading, *φόνον*, could be right (as e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1309 *φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν*, Eur. *IT* 288 *πῦρ πνέουσα καὶ φόνον*). Confusion between these two words is very common in MSS. (A few MSS read *γαμφηλήσι*, the old Attic form; cf. 727 with n.)

**357** Typhos’ threat to Zeus’ power was comparable to that of the Titans (207–8n.); so was his punishment (365, cf. 220). In each case, the earthborn were imprisoned beneath the earth, though Typhos, the fire-breather, received the thunderbolt too (358–72). In Hesiod, Typhoeus represents the last, and in some respects, the most dangerous, example of a youngest son (*Th.* 821) who overpowers or outwits the ruler (usually his father), and usurps the throne (see West Hes. *Th.* pp. 379–83); when Zeus successfully resists this threat, his power is finally established as permanent and stable. In *Prom.*, however, Typhos is not to be Zeus’ last challenger – another son mightier than his father is lurking in the future (764n., 920–7, *Intro.* p. 5).

**358** *αὐτῶι*: dative of (dis)advantage (Smyth §1481).

*ἄγρυπνον*: (cf. 32 *ἄπνους*) i.e. never caught unawares. The epithet is transferred from Zeus to the missile (*hypallage*), cf. 115 *ὁδμὰ ἀφεγγής*, 498–9 *σήματα ἐπάργεμα*, 600 *νήστισιν αἰκείαις*, 816 *ψελλόν*.

**359** *καταιβάτης*: this was a formal cult title of Zeus (‘descending in thunder and lightning’), cf. Aristoph. *Peace* 42. Here it may have been suggested by Hes. *Th.* 855 (*Ζεὺς*) *πλήξεν ἀπ’ Οὐλύμποιο ἐπάλμενος*, though the epithet is now applied to the lightning-bolt itself. The violence of the line is enhanced by the alliteration of κ and π (88–92n.).

**360–1** *ἐξέπληξε*: cf. 134–5 with n. Here the sense is more literal, ‘shook him out of his boasts’.

*ὕψηλόρων | κομπασμάτων*: the echo from 318–19 *ὕψηλόρου γλώσσης* (of P.) has point (cf. too 947): both of them have suffered at Zeus’ hands for their ‘high words’ (347–72n.).

*φρένας*: traditionally the seat of the emotions, including boastfulness; for a wound there, cf. Hom *Od.* 9.301, and 842–3n., 881 below.

**362** κάεβροντήθησθένος 'and he had the strength thundered out of him' (cf. 171n.). The phrase is reminiscent of Archil. fr. 120 West (metaphorical) συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας (cf. 361 φρένας). The resounding four-word trimeter (virtually three-word, with καί in *crasis*) gives a grandiose effect (Introd. pp. 27-8), here heightened by the use of two unparalleled (perhaps invented) words, φεψαλώω and έκβροντάω; the style (and cacophony, cf. Introd. p. 28) matches the exotic content (so too 372 άνθρακόω).

**363-72** The imprisonment of Typhos below Mt Aetna is given as the *aition* for later volcanic activity, just as in Hesiod the defeated Typhoeus is the *aition* for subsequent 'typhoons' (*Th.* 869ff.). This passage appears to be modelled particularly closely on Pind. *P.* 1.17ff. (and perhaps *O.* 4.7-8; see 365n.). There was an eruption of Mt Aetna in either 479 B.C. (Parian Marble) or 475 B.C. (Thuc. 3.116; on the date, see W. Christ, *Sitzb. Bay. Akad.* (1888) 359-62), which largely destroyed the city of Catana. Hieron, tyrant of nearby Syracuse, rebuilt the city, renamed it Aetna, and held a large celebration for the new city in the late 470s, at which Pindar's *Pythian* 1 was performed (perhaps along with Aesch. *Persians* and/or *Aetnaeae*; see further Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 117-20).

**363** καί νῦν: true both for *P.* and for the Athenian audience.

παράφορον: in epic, παρήγορος apparently means 'hanging loosely', hence 'dangling' or (as here) 'sprawling': e.g. Hom. *Il.* 7.156 πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο παρήγορος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

**364** στενωποῦ...θαλασσίου: the Straits of Messina, as is clear from the next line; cf. Pind. *P.* 1.17ff., specifying Cumae and Aetna.

**365** ἰπούμενος 'being crushed' like a mouse in a trap, or fruit in a press. Pindar uses the same term of Aetna crushing Typhos (*O.* 4.7-8 Κρόνου καὶ, δς Αἴτναν ἔχεις ἱπὸν ἀνεμόεσσαν ἑκατογκεφάλᾳ Τυφῶνος ὀβρίμου. ἱπός, ἱπόω are rare enough words for us to suspect that the two passages are not independent of each other: if *Prom.* is following Pindar here, as in the rest of the Aetna description (363-72, 351-72nn.), then we have a strong argument against Aeschylean authorship, as *O.* 4 was probably not composed until 452 B.C. (C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964) 412-15, Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 119, 136).

ὑπο 'under' (see 66n.).

**366–7** *μυδροκτυπέ | Ἥφαιστος*: Hephaestus was traditionally supposed to work, with the help of the Cyclopes, in his forge beneath Sicily (e.g. Thuc. 3.88). Here this tradition is neatly combined with that of Typhos, whose emissions of fire and smoke from underground are to supply the furnace for Hephaestus' metal-working.

**366–9** *Vaticinium ex eventu*, in that the author (and audience) know that the predicted event has in fact already taken place (363–72n.). The alliteration (κ, π, τ, γ, cf. 88–92n.) and metrical resolutions (366, 368, cf. 6n.) contribute to the violent and unsettled effect of the lines.

**368** *ποταμοὶ πυρός*: the flaming lava (as Pind. *P.* 1.21 *πυρὸς ... παγαί*). *δάκτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις*: fire is often described as 'biting, devouring,' etc. The image is especially appropriate here after 355 *γαμφηλαῖσι*, 356 *ἥστραπτε ... σέλας* (and see 64n. on *γνάθος*).

**370–2** *τοιόνδε* marks the end of the digression (347–72n.), with ring-composition (*Τυφῶς* ~ 354 *Τυφῶνα*), cf. 221–2, 241nn.

**371** *ἀπλάτου* 'unapproachable', as in Pind. *P.* 1.21 *ἀπλάτου πυρὸς* (cf. fr. 93 *ἀπλατον ... Τυφῶνα*); preferable to *ἀπλήστου* ('insatiable') in the MSS. For the corruption, cf. the variant *πρόσπλαστοι* at 716 (Page's *app. crit.*).

**373–6** P. has made his point, by means of two paradigms (mythological and aetiological to the audience, but quite contemporary and personal to P. and Ocean, in the context of the play), and now he returns, with a conventional apology for his digression, to the advice which he was giving at 344–6 (esp. 344 *σαυτὸν ἐκπόδων ἔχων*). Ocean ended his paraenetic speech with the contrast 'I shall act: you stay put' (325–9 *ἐγὼ μὲν ... σὺ δ' ἡσύχαζε*). The last four lines of P.'s reply reverse this: *σὺ δ' ... σεαυτὸν σῶιζε ... ἐγὼ δέ ...*, and 373 *ἐμοῦ διδασκάλου* echoes Ocean's words of 322: P. is now the teacher (cf. 382). Some see *ὅπως ἐπίστασαι* as sarcastic, implying that Ocean knows well enough how to keep out of trouble; but this is not necessary: simply, 'as best you can'.

**375** *ἀντλήσω* 'I shall keep struggling against...', cf. 84 *ἀπαντλήσαι* with n., and Dale on Eur. *Alc.* 354; or possibly, 'I shall drain to the dregs'.

**376** Cf. 256–8 with n. For λωφήσι, cf. 27n.; for χόλου, 370 and 29n.

**377–96** In blunt stichomythia, P. rejects Ocean's advice and offer of help; cf. 383n.

**377–8** Ocean suggests that Zeus' anger may be cured by persuasion. One whole line (377) prepares the way for the well-worn *gnome* (378), cf. 328–9.

ὀργῆς 'temperament' (cf. 80n.), though also responding to 376 χόλου. νοσοῦσης... ἰατροί: cf. 225, 632nn. For later examples of this proverb, see Groeneboom *ad loc.*

**379–80** P. sustains the medical metaphor: 'Yes (γε, 254n.), if one softens the heart at the right moment, and doesn't try to apply the remedy violently to a spirit still hot and freshly swollen.' A doctor 'reduces' (ἰσχναίνω lit. 'dry up', cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 939–44) the swelling of an ulcer or tumour, but only when it has begun to soften, not while it is still hard and plump (σφριγῶντα). There was an Hippocratic maxim (*Liqu.* 6) πέποντα φαρμακεύειν, μὴ ὠμά, 'treat them when they are ripe, not raw'. (See further Thomson *ad loc.*, Dumortier (1) 30–1, Petrounias 103 and n. 398.) In this case, P. knows that the critical moment has not yet come: Zeus' heart is still too young and raw to listen to soothing words (79–80n., cf. 1008–10).

**381–2** Lit. 'What fault do you see residing in eagerness and boldness?', i.e. 'Is there anything wrong with trying?' (Cf. 340–1.)

**383** μόχθον ... εὐηθίαν: accusative after ὁρᾷς (249n.). In εὐηθία (= 'silliness'), we see again a sign of contempt for old-fashioned (317n.) and 'simple-minded' ways of thinking, appropriate to the sophist Prometheus (62n.). P. has now lost his patience, and bluntly points out the futility of Ocean's plans, interrupting the regular two-line stichomythia with this single line.

**384** νόσωι νοσεῖν: again metaphorical (cf. 377, 225n.). For the *polyptoton* (again 385 φρονούντα ... φρονεῖν), see 29n. The dative is unusual (for the normal internal accusative); cf. Soph. *Tr.* 544 with Jebb's n.

**385** ‘It is most profitable, when one has good sense, to appear not to have it’, presumably so that one will be ignored or underestimated by the likes of Zeus (who is dangerous) and P. (who is misguided). Or else Ocean simply means that it is better to *be* wise without seeming so, than vice versa.

**386** ‘This fault (i.e. τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν) will appear to be mine’ (sc. ‘though I do in fact have sense’). P. recognizes that he and Ocean are in complete disagreement, and that everybody thinks P. to be mistaken in his attitude; cf. 1000 ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν with n.

**387** σὸς λόγος refers to 383 and to the wholly discouraging tone of P.’s words from 330 onwards.

**388** ‘Yes (γάρ), so that (your) lament for me may not throw you into unpopularity’, ὁ ἐμός for objective genitive ἐμοῦ (LSJ s.v. ἐμός 1 2).

**389** The conventions of stichomythia require that Ocean take a whole line to say, ‘You mean, with Zeus?’ For the grammar, and significance, of νέον, see 35n.

**392** See 56n., 937 with n.

**393–6** The scene ends on a lame, almost ridiculous note, with this four-line speech of departure: ‘I was just going anyway (ὁρμωμένοι μοι, contrast 337) – because my bird wants to fly back home and rest.’ 393 echoes 277 from the end of the previous scene, and the whole episode closes with P. unmoved, Ocean flitting awkwardly back whence he came, and nothing changed.

ψαίπει: did the stage-griffin actually beat its wings at this point, and disturb its rider (284–396, 286nn.)? Surely not (Introd. p. 31, 64–5, 1080nn.).

τᾶν: crasis of τοι ἄν, as often. On ἄσμενος, see 23n.

### **397–435: Second Song (First Stasimon) of the Chorus**

The Chorus enter the *orchestra* (if they have been out of sight behind the *skene* during the Ocean-scene, as argued in 128–92n.; otherwise, they

may have been there throughout), take up their positions, and sing of their grief on P.'s behalf, shared by the whole human world.

The ode is a lamentation for P.'s sufferings (397n.). The Chorus include, in addition to themselves (397-405), every land from Asia (411-14) to the Black Sea (415-16), Scythia (417-19), Arabia (420), and the Caucasus (421-4), plus the sea (431-2), Hades (433), and the rivers (434-5), in their whole-hearted expression of sympathy. The ode introduces no new material or ideas, nor does it attempt to analyse or explain the preceding events (Introd. pp. 22-3, 887-906n.); instead, it provides a lyric response to P.'s account of his suffering in the previous scene, and serves to deepen the mood of elemental pain and misery surrounding the Titan.

The first two strophic pairs are quite straightforward, but 425-35 present insoluble problems. (i) Lines 425-30 are certainly corrupt, as they make no sense in at least two places (425-30n.). (ii) If 425-30 comprise *strophe* γ, 431-5 *antistrophe* γ, then the corruption in one or both must be extensive, since only the last two lines now respond metrically. (iii) The content of 425-30 (the sufferings of Atlas) breaks the continuity of the rest of the ode, which is concerned with nature's response to P.'s plight: it also repeats the content of 348-50, for no good purpose. Some editors have regarded 425-30 as an interpolation, without which we have an unproblematical epode (431-5). Others emend 425-30 so that it will respond to 431-5; this may be correct, but involves wholesale excision and rewriting. Others still (e.g. Murray, Page) place daggers round 425-30, and confess to bafflement. This seems the most honest course. See further nn. on 425-30.

*Metre: strophe and antistrophe α*

397	στένω σε τας ούλομένας τυχας. Προμη-	iambic + choriamb +
406	προκασα δ' ἤδη στονοεν λελακε χω-	iambic
399	θευ· δακρυσιστακτόν ἄπ' ὄσ-	2 choriamb
408	ρα, μεγαλοσχημονα τ' ἀρ-	
400	σών ραδίνων λειβομένα	2 choriamb
409	χαιοπρεπη < >	

401	ῥεος παρειαν νοτίοις ἔτεγξα πα-	iambic + choriamb +
410	στενουσι ταν σαν ξυνομαιμονων τε τι-	iambic
402	γαις ἄμεγαρτα γαρ ταδε	choriamb + iambic
411	μαν ὅποσοι τ' ἐποικον ἄ-	
403	Ζεὺς ἴδιοις νομοῖς κρατυ-	choriamb + iambic
412	γνας Ἀσιας ἔδος νεμον-	
404	νων ὑπερηφανον θεοις	choriamb + iambic
413	ται, μεγαλοστονοισι σοις	
405	τοῖς παρὸς ἐνδεικνῦσιν αἰχμάν.	choriamb + iambic +
414	πημασι συγκαμνουσι θνατοί.	<i>anceps</i> (= alcaic decasyllable?)

The metrical pattern is very similar to that of the first strophic pair of the Parodos (128–51). The same basic rhythm (choriambic plus iambic) is dominant, with the ‘dovetailing’ effect (see n. on metre of strophe and antistrophe α of 128ff.) suggesting anaclastic ionics. The single clausular colon (405 = 414) is similar to the alcaic decasyllable of 132 = 148 ( – υ υ – υ υ – υ – – , cf. 135 = 151), but with a contraction of the second double-short into a long ( – υ υ – – – υ – – ). It is in effect an expanded choriamb ( – υ υ – ~~υ υ~~ – ) with closing syncopation ( υ – ^ – || ).

### *Strophe and antistrophe β*

415	Κολχίδος τε γὰς ἐνοικοί	2 trochaics
420	Ἀραβίας τ' ἀρειον ἄνθος	
416	παρθένοι μάχας ἀτρεστοί	2 trochaics
421	ὕψικρημνον οἱ πολίσμα	
417	καὶ Σκυθῆς ὁμίλος, οἱ γὰς	2 trochaics
422	Καυκάσου πελας νεμονται,	



- 418 ἔσχατον τόπον ἀμφὶ Μαι- glyconic  
 423 δαίος στρατος ὀξυπρωι-  
 419 ὦτ' ἔχουσι λιμένα. || (choriamb + bacchiac) =  
 424 ροισι βρεμῶν ἐν αἰχμαῖς. aristophanean

The metre is very simple: three trochaic dimeters, followed by a clausula of two aeolic cola, glyconic (x x — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —) plus aristophanean (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ — —). The unsyncopated trochaics run smoothly, quite unlike the syncopated rhythms of Aeschylean cretic-iambic-trochaic lyrics: indeed, there is no real parallel in all Greek tragedy to the simplicity of these trochaic stanzas (Griffith 37–9). There is one resolution in the antistrophe (420 Ἀρα-), responding to a long in the strophe (Κολχ-); otherwise we have only the normal variation of the *syllaba anceps* (415 once, 416 possibly twice, see 420–1n.).

Verbal responsion between strophe and antistrophe is less noticeable than in the Parodos; only in the last colon of α with the dative plurals (θεοῖς τοῖς πάρος ~ σοῖς πῆμασι) and 3rd. person verb (ἐνδείκνυσι ~ συγκάμνουσι), is it at all evident.

(For the metre of 425–30, see n. *ad loc.*)

### *Epode (?)*

- 431 βοαι δε ποντίος κλυδων' | 2 iambs  
 432 ξυμπιτνων. στενει βυθος. | cretic + iambic  
 433 κελαινος Ἄιδος ὑποβρεμει | μυχος γας || 2 iambs + bacchiac  
 434 παγαῖ θ' ἀγνοῦτων ποταμων spondee + hemiepes (D)  
 435 στενουσιν ἄλγος οἰκτρον. || iambic + bacchiac

Largely straightforward iambs with syncopation, plus one dactylic colon (434). As often in lyric iambic, the bacchiac (∪ — ^ —) rounds off the periods (433, 435).

397 στένω: 'the keynote of the ode is struck in the first word'

(Thomson); cf. 407 στονόεν, 409 στένουσι, 413 μεγαλοστόνοις), (430 ὑποστενάζει?), 432 στένει, 435 στένουσιν. (Compare Aesch. *Th.* 900-2.)

τὸς οὐλομένως τύχας lit. 'I lament you for your disastrous fortune', genitive of cause or origin, as regularly with verbs of emotion (Smyth §1405). The epic form οὐλ- is for metrical convenience (345n.).

**399-401** Lit. 'Pouring a tear-dripping flow from my soft eyes, I soaked my cheek with wet streams.' Triclinius warned against 'correcting' the asyndeton by inserting δ' after δακρυσιστακτον, which spoils the respon-sion (399 — — — ~ 408 — — —); some editors write δακρυσιστακτα δ' (adverbial, 'in a tear-dripping manner'). This is awkward and unnecessary: the explanatory asyndeton is not harsh, cf. 354n. For the 'instantaneous' aorist (ἔτεγξα), see 181n. As for ῥαδινῶν (with ὀσσων) or ῥαδινόν (with ῥέος), both are possible; but ῥαδινός seems usually to keep a sense of *shape* (especially with reference to parts of the body), so probably here goes with 'eyes'. (Ancient grammarians suggest that it could mean 'easily moved, changeable'. ῥαδινῶν Hartung, adopted by Wilamowitz, Page, etc.), though appropriate for παρειάν, creates an impossible word-order; see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1127, T. C. W. Stinton, *P.C.Ph.S.* n.s. 21 (1975) 82-8. At 400 = 409, the antistrophe is shorter by a full choriamb (— — —); Triclinius therefore omitted λειβομένα at 400, taking ῥέος and παρειάν as double accusative after ἔτεγξα. It seems more likely that a word has dropped out of 409, since λειβομένα is an unlikely word for anyone to insert by mistake (see 408-11n.)

**402-4** ἀμέγαρτα ... τάδε ... κρατύνων 'governing in this unrestrained way' (cf. 35 νέον κρατῆι), or, possibly, 'ruling over these unenviable (things)': ἀ- privative plus μεγαίρω = either 'unstinted' or 'unenvied', (cf. ἀφθονός).

ιδίοις νόμοις: cf. 150n., 186-7; also 544.

**404-5** ὑπερήφανον ... αἰχμάν 'an arrogant spearpoint', i.e. a rule based on naked force (Κράτος and Βία). The associations of ὑπερήφανον are similar to those of αἰσχύμητης (18), αὐθάδης (64, 79nn.), ὑψήγορος (318), etc.: Zeus is as excessive in his arbitrary violence as P. in his independent speech.

θεοῖς | τοῖς πάρος: cf. 151 τὰ πρὶν πελώρια.

**406** *στονόνεν λέλακε*: lit. 'has cried out a moaning (cry)', internal accusative.

**408–11** 'And (they) lament the magnificent and time-honoured position of you and your brothers' (i.e. the Titans, all born from Earth). Four syllables (– υ υ –) are missing from 409, which should respond to 400. Probably they supplied the subject of *στένουσι*, e.g. (Wecklein) *ἐσπέριοι* 'the men of the West', picked up by 411–13, *ὅποσοι* ... *Ἀσίας* (= 'men of the East') – unless 415–19 are supposed to refer to Europe? Otherwise, *στένουσι* is an illogical, though intelligible, plural for 'all the lands' ... An alternative would be e.g. Hermann's *ἀρχαιοπρεπὴ δακρυχέει στένουσα* (agreeing with 406 *χώρα*: *στένουσα* is found in several MSS).

**411–12** *ἐποικον ἄγνῳς Ἀσίας ἔδος* 'the settled home of pure Asia'. *Ἀσία* here may be the nymph (one of the Oceanids, Hes. *Th.* 359).

**414** *συγκάμνουσι θνατοί*: (162n.) The position of *θνατοί* (cf. *πρόπασα* first word) effectively conveys the universality of the world's sympathy. In the following stanzas more specific examples are given.

**414–24** The Chorus pass from the peoples of Asia to those of Europe (cf. 707ff., especially 734–5). No main verb occurs, and all the nominatives are still subjects of 409 *στένουσι*.

**415–16** *παρθένοι*: the Amazons (see 723–8). The true Colchis lies on the eastern shore of the Black Sea (Pontus); but at 723–8 the poet seems to imagine that Colchis, the Amazons, and even the Caucasus, are north or north-west of the Black Sea (719–21, 723–5nn., and Map).

*μάχας ἀτρεστοί* 'fearless in battle', objective genitive (as 884 *γλώσσης ἀκρατῆς*).

**417–19** Lake Maeotis is linked to the northern part of the Black Sea (see Map, and 729–34 with nn.). For Scythia as the 'furthest place on earth', see 2n.

*ὄμιλος, οἱ* ...: for the plural, see 805, 808, and (probably) 421.

**420–1** *Ἀραβίας τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος* 'and the warlike flower of Arabia'.

There is no problem in the responsion of 415 Κολχίδος to 420 Ἀραβίας (∞ ∪ – = cretic); but many editors have emended Ἀραβίας (into Ἀβαρίας, Ἀρίας, Χαλυβίας, κτλ.) because it seems geographically out of place. For, if no θ' is read in 421, the inhabitants of Arabia are said to live 'near the Caucasus' (422). (With τε, i.e. ὑψίκρημνόν θ' οἱ . . . 'and those who. . .', we have two separate peoples, but the identity of the second is left obscure – what might this lofty city near the Caucasus be? Wecklein suggests Ecbatana, capital of the Medes.) The scholiast to M certainly read no θ' (λείπει τὸ καί): the metre is no help, as the syllable is *anceps* (ὑψίκρημνόν [θ']). It is best to follow Triclinius in omitting θ', and to accept that Arabia is here placed in the Pontus region, as in Plautus *Trinumm.* 934. (See too Bolton 53–4, with n. 17.) The geography of *Prom.* is generally wild (2, 696–741, 719–21, *Hypoth.* nn.).

**425–30** (See n. on 397–435, First Stasimon.) Atlas, toiling unceasingly to hold up the world, is the only comparable example which the Chorus have seen. The text is printed as it stands in the MSS with minor variations. We have the choice of three ways of dealing with it. (i) Although 425–30 contain many more syllables than 431–5, we may make them respond through emendation and excision. (ii) We may regard 425–35 as a single stanza, i.e. a rather long epode. (iii) We may remove the whole of 425–30 as an interpolation. Whichever course we follow, we must recognize that at several points the sense and style of the stanza are defective: (1) 425 ἐν πόνοις is duplicated by 427 λύμαις; (2) ἀκαμαντοδέτοις λύμαις ('inexhaustibly bound tortures') is a feeble variation on 148 ἀδαμαντοδέτοις λύμαις ('steel-bound tortures', which would not apply to Atlas); (3) Atlas is described as both Τιτᾶνα and θεόν (427); (4) ὑπέροχον σθένος κραταῖον ('supreme powerful strength') appears to be parallel to οὐράνιον πόλον as the object of ὑποστεγάζει, which makes nonsense; (5) ὑποστενάζει, read in most MSS, cannot mean 'groans under the weight of', i.e. 'supports' (especially with νώτοις), but must mean 'laments', which makes nonsense. ὑποστεγάζει ('holds up'), preserved in one MS, and independently conjectured by Hermann, is probably right (cf. Aesch. fr. 285 N ἄθλος οὐρανοστεγής, again with reference to Atlas).

Following course (i), we must rewrite the whole passage to produce sense that corresponds metrically to 431–5. Heimsoeth's version is a fair example: μόνον δὲ πρόσθεν ἐν πόνοις | εἰδόμεν θεὸν δαμέντ' | Ἀτλαντος

ὑπέροχον σθένος κραταίον, || ὅς γ' αὖν οὐράνιον τε πόλον | νώτοις ὑποστεγάζει. || There, δὴ has become δέ; ἄλλον, ἀκαμαντοδέτοις Τιτᾶνα λύμαις, αἰέν, have all been removed as intrusive glosses; ὅς γ' αὖν has been inserted; the compound εἰσιδόμεν has become simple. Why such confusion should have overtaken the tradition here, when elsewhere the text is relatively well preserved, we could not even guess. Even with such a restoration, it cannot be denied that the reference to Atlas is a peculiar interruption of the flow of the ode.

(ii) If 425-35 is a single epode, we must still make quite extensive changes to produce sense out of 425-30; and we are still faced with the incongruous presence of Atlas. Metrically we have a mixture of iambs (— ∪ —, x — ∪ —, ∪ — —, etc.) and dactylic hemiepe (— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —), verging at times on dactylo-epitrite (see n. on metre of 526-44).

(iii) If we cut out all of 425-30, we are left with no problems at all, save that of explaining how, and why, such a large lyric interpolation should ever have taken place. But however unlikely it may appear, this third solution seems the least improbable.

**431-5** The closing words of the ode maintain and echo the mood of the opening (397n.): the waves, depths of the sea, underworld, rivers, all are crying out for P. The whole of nature is responding to him (cf. 88-91). The asyndeton is striking (βοᾷ ... στένει ... ὑποβρέμει ...); cf. 56n., and Aesch. *Th.* 901-5.

(If 425-30 are retained, it is difficult not to start taking 431-5 as referring to Atlas. This is perhaps another argument for excision.)

**432** ξυμπίτνων 'as it falls (breaks)', a metrically convenient form of ξυμπίπτων.

**433** With the MSS reading, δ', the metre is ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — —, which forms no recognizable colon. Without it, we have an iambic trimeter catalectic (2 iambs + bacchiac).

Ἄϊδος... μυχός γ' αἰς 'the earth's recesses (consisting) of Hades'. The two genitives are a little awkward, but not impossible. Some editors delete γ' αἰς, giving (with δ') ∪ — — ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — (bacchiac + cretic + iambic).

**436–525 Second Episode**

Most of the episode is taken up by two long rheseis, interrupted only by a brief, formal expression of agreement from the Chorus-leader (472–6), as P. describes the revolution he has worked among mankind, in helping them to advance from savagery to civilization (436–506). Then, in a short stichomythia (507–25), the Chorus try to learn from him more about the nature of the ultimate power in the universe, and in particular whether Zeus' rule will be permanent.

This short scene is unique in tragedy in that it contains no entrance or exit of a character (Taplin 262–5). Once again, the audience's expectations are disappointed (193–6, 907–40nn.), and their uncertainty grows, as to how the action of the play is likely to develop. No reference is made to Ocean's visit in the previous Episode, and no hints are given of any future arrivals in this desolate spot. The whole scene is thus more or less self-contained. Its main function is to present P. to us in the sympathetic role of benefactor of the human race, and thus to arouse increasing admiration and pity for him: not only did he save mankind from destruction at Zeus' hands (231–6), but he provided the means for a life superior to that of the beasts. Surely only misanthropes could blame P. for that? If P. is to be blamed, there are few or no signs in his words, or the Chorus' reaction to them at 472, 507–8. (See *Introd.* pp. 8–9.)

**436–7** *σιγᾶν*με: a problematical phrase. Most commentators assume that an appreciable pause follows the choral ode, before P. begins to speak, and that P. is here apologizing for this pause: see Mastronarde 115–16. (Reference is often made to Aesch. *Pers.* 290–1, and to Aristoph. *Frogs* 911ff. for further examples of 'Aeschylean' silences; but the technique there ridiculed is different, cf. 88–127n., O. Taplin, *H.S.C.Ph.* 76 (1972) 57ff., Griffith 117–18.) The present tense (*σιγᾶν*) would in any case be curious if P. were referring to a completed action. More likely, he means, 'Please (τοί) do not think that I have nothing to say, out of a sense of luxury or wilfulness', with *σιγᾶν* in the sense of 'keeping things to oneself' (as 106, 441). *δοκέω* must then almost = 'expect', as e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1649 *δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδειν* ('you have in mind to do these things'), Eur. *Or.* 1527, Pearson on Soph. fr. 339,

*GMT* §127, 136, Kühner-Gerth 1:195-7; and σιγᾶν must refer to the present and future.

For χλιδή (ironical), see 971-2 with n.; for αὐθαδία, 64n. To paraphrase the logic of the two lines: 'I am not so comfortable and pleased with myself that I have nothing to say; on the contrary (δέ), my heart is eaten up with painful thoughts' (on συννοίαι, see Stevens's n. on Eur. *Andr.* 805, and Sansone 73 n. 10).

**439-40** καίτοι (101n.) underlines the contrast between P.'s present humiliation (438) and his past prestige. The rhetorical question, τίς ἄλλος ἢ ἐγώ ... further emphasizes this. (For the *aphaeresis*, ᾿γώ, cf. 740-1n.)

γέρα ... διώρισεν: (37-8n.) At 229-30, P. said that Zeus δαίμοσιν νέμει γέρα: here he insists that he did it himself. There need be no contradiction, if we see P. as being at that time Zeus' assistant and friend (218, 304-5), using his intelligence and expertise to help put the new government on a sure footing. Nowhere in P.'s accounts (199-241, 439-506) is there any suggestion that he was trying to damage the Olympian order in any way, as is implied by Hesiod (*Th.* 535ff.), and by Zeus' agents in this play (10-11n.): see *Introd.* pp. 1-10).

**441-3** 'I have nothing to say about *that* (i.e. my benefactions to the gods); for in any case I should be telling you a story which you already know. But listen to the (former) miseries among mortals, how ...'

εἰδοίασιν ... λέγομι: a common idiom (cf. 373-4, 1040-1; also 277-8). Wecklein quotes numerous parallels, from Hom. *Il.* 10.250 onwards.

πῆματα 'the hardships' which existed before P. gave them the arts of civilization, described more fully in 445-57.

νηπίους: see 447-50.

**443-4** 'I rendered them capable of thought and possessed of intelligence.' P. is about to present in 445-504 what amounts virtually to a display speech (ἐπίδειξις) on man's cultural evolution (450-506n.). These two lines form an introduction, (as it were, the title of the set piece), just as 505-6 provide a neat, two-line flourish at the end. Such rhetorical devices of introduction and conclusion fit well into the rather stiff and formal arrangement of P.'s account, and are somewhat after the

manner of sophistic techniques of speech-writing. So too, the longer periods and higher rate of enjambement of 447-71, 478-98 (see 199n.) may owe something to developments in Ionic and Attic prose style, both narrative and oratorical.

**445** μέμψιν οὐτιν'... ἔχων 'not because I have any complaint...'

**446** '... but because I (want to) explain the kindness in (the things) which I have given them', (ὧν = τούτων &). P. is not describing mankind's debt to him as a reproach – they are in any case powerless to respond with any sort of help for him (547-51) – but because it is essential for the Chorus' view of P. (and the audience's too, of course) that they realize how much he has done; in particular, the two speeches serve to correct Hesiod's picture of P. as the crafty but short-sighted *source* of human misery (Introd. pp. 8-9, 450-506n.), with which the audience is likely to be most familiar.

**447-8** πρῶτα μὲν 'at first' (i.e. before I helped them). μὲν is answered by 457 ἔστε δὴ (not by 452 or 454 δέ, which still refer to the original state of mankind). Alternatively, πρῶτα could be taken with rhetorical (enumerative) force, rather than temporal, marking the first item in the list of benefactions; on this common usage, see D. J. Mastronarde, *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 112-13.

βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην: similar to Isaiah 6.10, 'This people's wits are dulled, their ears are deafened, and their eyes blinded, so that they cannot see with their eyes, nor listen with their ears, nor understand with their wits' (cf. 456). The expression seems to be proverbial in Greek, as ps. Dem. 25.89 ὥστε, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας (= 'as the proverb says'), ὁρῶντας μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούοντας μὴ ἀκούειν, Aesch. *Ag.* 1623 οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὁρῶν τάδε;, with Fraenkel's n., and Groeneboom on Aesch. *Th.* 246.

**448-50** ὄνειράτων | ἀλίγκιοι μορφαῖσι: 'dream' or 'shadow' is often used in Greek (as in *Hamlet*) to describe the futility and evanescence of human life. Best known perhaps is Pind. *P.* 8.95-6 σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος, where the two are boldly combined (cf. 548 ἰσόνειρον); n.b. too Hom. *Od.* 11.207, Aesch. *Ag.* 1218. Here the image is vivid and striking: 'like figures in dreams, for the length of their lives (τὸν μακρὸν βίον, see 94n.,



537, and Soph. *OT* 518, *Aj.* 473, *OC* 1214, etc.) they muddled everything at random', i.e. they had no plan for living, but acted in the same irrational ways as characters in dreams.

**ἄφρον:** a term used elsewhere too in this context of beast-like existence, e.g. Eur. *Supp.* 201–2 ('I praise whichever of the gods...') ἡμῖν βιοτόν ἐκ πεφυρμένου | καὶ θηριώδους ... διεσταθήσατο, cf. 452–3n. and further references in W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Sophists* (= *Hist. Gr. Philos.* III.1, Cambridge 1969) 79–84, esp. 80 n.2.

**450–506** P. begins as if he is going to describe all the miseries (442) under which mankind laboured, but quickly moves on instead (457ff.) to list the techniques which he has given them to dispel these miseries: architecture and carpentry (450–3), meteorology and astronomy (454–8), numbers and writing (459–61), domestication and harnessing of animals (462–6), sailing (467–8), medicine (478–83), prophecy, through dreams, omens, augury, and sacrifice (484–99), and finally mining (500–3). In contrast to the Hesiodic account of human civilization, according to which human life has degenerated since the Golden Age of Kronos – partly because of P.'s misguided attempts to outwit Zeus – we are given a description of human progress from primitive ignorance, savagery, and chaos to relative affluence and sophistication. The basis for that progress is technology, of which the source and symbol is fire (109–11, 252–4). Such a view of cultural development is closely connected with the rise of fifth-century rationalism, and especially with the sophists: it may perhaps be traced back to Xenophanes (B 18 DK 'the gods did not reveal everything to mankind from the beginning, but in time men discover the better by searching'). Several accounts of man's progress involve the *topos* of one or more marvellous new discoveries, by a divine or human *πρῶτος εὐρετής*, e.g. Gorgias B 11a 30 (Palamedes), Aristoph. *Frogs* 1032ff. (Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, etc.), *Hom. Hymn* 20 (Hephaestus), Eur. *Supp.* 201–13 (θεός τις), Isocr. *Paneg.* 28–40, *Panath.* 119–48 (Athens); cf. A. Kleingünther, *Πρῶτος εὐρετής* (*Philol. Suppl.* 26.1, 1933), A. T. Cole, *Democritus and the sources of Greek anthropology* (*A.P.A. Monogr.* 25, 1967) 6–7. But we find too evidence of a more thorough-going rationalism, describing human endeavour and ingenuity struggling, over a long period of time, to find new and better ways of dealing with the natural environment: such a view is contained in Protagoras' story (Plato, *Prot.* 321c ff., see *Introd.* pp. 3–4), where

the evolution of civilization depends on ἐντεχνοῦς σοφία, and successive stages of development can be traced (speech, shelter, agriculture, city-dwelling), each as a response to physical necessity. The account here in *Prom.* does not appear to have been designed especially to fit the figure of P. or the context of the play: there is no mention of fire or pottery; and domestication of animals and prophecy play unexpectedly large roles (462–6, 484–99; cf. fr. xix). So the poet may be following someone else's account, perhaps Protagoras' περί τῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ καταστάσεως (on which Plato's version is presumably based): n.b. the emphasis in both on *intelligence* as the first prerequisite for all the arts (443–4), the ascending order of skills, from physical necessities to more sophisticated refinements (465–6, 500–2nn.), and cf. 7–8, 232–3nn. But neither this, nor even the Protagorean description, seems to have presented such a thorough step-by-step account as that which is found in Diod. 1.8, Vitruv. 33.16ff., Lucr. *DRN* 5.925ff., Sen. *EM* 90, Tzetzes, *schol. to Hes.* p. 67ff. Gaisford, apparently based on a common source (which also described the invention of fire itself; the source may be Democritus, though the evidence is slim: see Cole, *passim*).

P.'s account here combines elements of the πρῶτος εὕρετής *topos* with the more rationalistic analysis characteristic of the Presocratics and Sophists. In one sense, P. is 'discoverer' of all τέχναι (456–8n.); yet it is also made clear that human progress stems naturally from the discovery of fire (110–11, 253–4, cf. 613–14 with nn., and Plato, *Prot.* 321d 2–3 ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ πυρὸς αὐτήν (sc. σοφίαν) κτητήν τωι ἢ χρησίμην γενέσθαι) and from the new spirit of optimism about the future (250–1, with n.); and in this sense P. is simply the personification of human forethought (506n.). See further Guthrie, *The Sophists* 60–84, D. J. Conacher, *G.R.B.S.* 18 (1977) 189–206; in tragedy, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 332–71 (probably 442 B.C.), Eur. *Supp.* 201–13 (c. 421 B.C.), fr. tr. adesp. 470 N (probably a *Palamedes* play), Soph. *Triptolemus* (frs. 596–617 R, 468 B.C.), *Palamedes* and *Nauplius* (esp. fr. 432 R οὗτος δ' ἐφηῦρε ... ἀριθμῶν ... εὐρήματα ... οὐράνιά τε σήματα ... ἀστρων μέτρα κτλ., Eur. *Palamedes* (esp. fr. 578 N), and later Moschion *TrGF* 97 F 6.

Protagoras' account, and Democritus' (?) too, was designed chiefly to account for the development of human societies and institutions, through a combination of φύσις and νόμος. It is significant that here P. makes no mention of any of the social virtues necessary for political life (e.g. δίκη and αἰδώς, as in Plato, *Prot.* 322c–d). We must assume that

these are still lacking, perhaps to be supplied by Zeus (through Hermes? or Heracles?) in the sequel; cf. App. pp. 303-4.

**450-1** οὔτε... ἤισαν, οὐ ... 'they knew neither of ... nor of ...', cf. 479-80 οὔτε... οὐ... οὐδέ (Smyth §2948).

**452-3** ὥστ' ἀήσυροι | μύρμηκες 'like scurrying ants' (for ὥστε, see 986 and LSJ s.v. A 1). *Hom. Hymn* 20.3ff. (c. 400 B.C.?) hails Hephaestus ... 'who, together with grey-eyed Athena, taught men brilliant tasks (ἔργα) on the earth, whereas before they were living in mountain caves, like wild beasts; now, because of Hephaestus, famed in the arts (κλυτο-τέχνην), they have learnt their tasks and easily live a care-free life in their own houses all year long'. The invention of wall-building was often attributed to Palamedes (450-506n.), as part of his military innovations.

**454-6** ἦν δ' οὐδέν αὐτοῖς ... τέκμαρ ... βέβαιον 'They had no reliable means of telling (the onset of each season).' The Greeks tended to think in terms of three, rather than four, seasons (cf. Diod. Sic. 1.26.5, LSJ s.v. ὁπώρα, N. J. Richardson's n. on *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 399ff.). Here the choice of epithets (ἀνθεμώδης, κάρπιμος) suggests agriculture, for which knowledge of the seasons is most obviously essential (as e.g. Hes. *WD*); so too 462-5 imply a concern for farming. But P. does not specifically mention cereal crops, which were traditionally regarded as the gift of Demeter, sometimes through the agency of Triptolemus.

**456-8** ἄτερ γνώμης: so 450 εἰκῇ. Here the reference is to the impossibility of planning for the future when there is no concept of time or of the rhythm of the seasons (506n.).

ἔστε δὴ ... ἐγὼ ... ἔδειξα: although this phrase refers in particular to knowledge of the stars and seasons, the emphatic δὴ (as 656, 814-15) and ἐγὼ in effect answer 447 πρῶτα μὲν, and imply that P. also invented building and carpentry. The emphasis on P.'s personal and individual role (ἐγὼ ἔδειξα, 462 ἔξευξα πρῶτος, 465 ἤγαγον, 467-8 οὐτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ... ἦδρε, 477 ἐμησάμην, 481-2 ἐγὼ ... ἔδειξα, 484 ἐστοίχισα, 485 ἔκρινα πρῶτος, 487 ἐγνώρισα, 489 διώρισα, 498 ᾤδωσα, 499 ἐξωμμάτωσα, 502-3 τίς ... πάροιθεν ἐξευρεῖν ἐμοῦ) is characteristic of the πρῶτος εὐρετής (450-506n.). But elsewhere in the play P. can be seen as a

symbol of human cleverness, aspiration, and forethought, as in Protagoras' parable (Plato, *Prot.* 321ff., see Introd. pp. 3-4), rather than a divine miracle-worker (85-7, 235-6, 248-51, 444, 506; see too fr. xix with Plutarch's *testimonium*). At 253-4 P. said that mortals 'will learn' many skills, as a result of the gift of fire (cf. 110-11); but it is not hard to reconcile the future tense there with the repeated aorists of the present passage. As a dramatic character, P. the Titan is man's protector and benefactor, who is now being physically tormented for this attitude; at the same time, as a cultural symbol or allegory, he represents mankind's own spirit of optimism (248-51), of technological ingenuity (253-4, 450ff.), and of reason (455-6). In this speech, it is his personal contribution to human well-being which is at issue; anthropological, allegorical, or historical concerns are at best secondary to the dramatic context. (See further 506n.)

**458** δυσκρίτους goes with both ἀντολάς and δύσεις (ἀπό κοινοῦ, as 21, 1015).

**459** καὶ μὲν 'and furthermore ...', progressive (*GP* 351-2; contrast 982n.). The sentiment recalls (no doubt accidentally) the Pythagorean saying, πάντων σοφώτατος ὁ ἀριθμὸς (Aelian, *VH* 4.17, cf. Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* 17, etc.); it is to be noted that at 478 at least equal importance is attributed to medicine. (For further discussion of supposed Pythagorean elements in *Prom.*, see Griffith, *Dionysiaca* 109-11, with further literature.) For a later version, see tr. fr. adesp. 470 Ν ἀριθμὸν ἡύρηκ' ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων. The invention of numbers, and of weights and measures, was usually attributed to Palamedes (450-506n.).

σοφισμάτων: no negative overtones here, nor at 470; contrast 62, 944 σοφιστής (62n.), and 1011 (ambiguous).

**460-1** γραμμάτων...συνθέσεις: i.e. 'writing', which is the 'memory of all things', the means of recording everything for posterity (so Eur. *Palamedes* fr. 582 τὰ τῆς λήθης φάρμακα ... γράμματα), and 'worker' (perhaps 'tool'), mother of the Muses' (so Gorgias, *Palam.* B 11a 30 γράμματά τε μνήμης ὄργανον). In Hes. *Th.* 52-3, Solon fr. 13.1 West, Plato, *Theaet.* 191d, etc., Mnemosyne is mother of the Muses, as is natural enough for oral poets, whereas to a fifth-century author *writing* is memory's source. Numbers and writing both provide basic means of organizing society (as

the Linear B tablets demonstrate for Mycenaean Greece); so Gorgias talks of ἀριθμὸν χρημάτων φύλακα (B 11a 36). In 461 most MSS read μνήμηνθ', giving us a third item (number, writing, *and* memory); but the parallels cited above for the relationship of writing to memory, and the different quality of the gift (μνήμη is scarcely a τέχνη) rule this out. ἐργάνην, read by Stobaeus and half-written in M, is a rarer word than ἐργάτιν of the MSS (it is also a cult-title of the craft goddess Athena; and cf. Gorgias' ὄργανον): it should therefore be preferred (*difficilior lectio*).

**462-6** See fr. XIX (= 194 N), with n.

**462-3** κνώδαλα: oxen and asses were 'wild beasts' before P. harnessed them for men's use.

κῶζυξα... ἐν ζύγοισι... ζεύγλαισι: rather clumsy *polyptoton* (19n.).

δουλεύοντα: (cf. 463-5n.) proleptic, 'so that they became slaves' (309-10n., and cf. 465 φιληνίους).

**463-5** 'So that they might relieve men of the greatest burdens', i.e. baggage, carts, and perhaps ploughs (454-6n). The MSS read ζεύγλαισι δουλεύοντα σώμασιν θ' ὅπως..., 'being enslaved to yokestraps and to bodies (i.e. riders?), so that...' (or 'being enslaved to yokestraps, and so that with their bodies...', with delayed ὅπως). The syntax is then strained (present participle parallel to ὅπως + optative as final clause) and the sense strange (why are 'bodies' mentioned at all?). It is no good to punctuate after δουλεύοντα, starting a new sentence with the ὅπως clause and taking it with 465-6 (reading ὅφ' ἄρματα: so most of the MSS), since horses (466 ἵππους) were not used for dragging or carrying heavy weights. To improve the balance of the clauses, Kirchhoff suggested δουλεύσοντα (since found in one MS), 'to be slaves... and to...', but the change of construction is still slightly awkward. Pauw's σάγμασιν θ' ὅπως ('enslaved to yokestraps and to pack-saddles, so that...') solves both problems neatly and convincingly. σάγμα (from σάττω) is not otherwise found in tragedy (though n.b. Soph. *Ph.* 755 ἐπίσαγμα with Jebb's n., and Aristoph. *Wasps* 1141-2 δοκεῖ γέ μοι | εἰκέναι μάλιστα Μορύχου σάγματι, with MacDowell's n.; also LSJ s.v. σαγή).

**465-6** Horses were expensive to buy and keep in Greece, and were regarded as marks of wealth and status (thus names ending in -ἵππος

tended to be aristocratic; see Aristoph. *Clouds* 1-85 and in general W. Wyse's n. on Isaeus 5.43.5). They were not much used for agriculture or the transportation of goods, for which mules were much more efficient (E. Badian, *NY Review of Books*, 26.20 (1979) 54-5). Horse-training was generally regarded as Poseidon's province, rather than P.'s. See too fr. XIX (194 N) with n.

**467** οὐτις ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ: a common idiom, 'nobody else but I...' (cf. 234, 440, 502-3, 913-14n.).

**468** ὀχήματα: lit. 'containers', hence 'carriages' or 'ships' (see 135, 710 ὄχος, Aesch. *Supp.* 33 ὄχῳ ταχυήρει, Soph. *Tr.* 656 πολύκωπον ὄχημα, Eur. *Med.* 1122 ναῖαν ἀπήνην, etc., and Catullus 64.9 *currum*). The elaborate periphrasis of 467-8 forms an impressive climax to P.'s first list of benefactions, which is neatly capped by 469-71 (see 443-4n.). The first ship was often said to be the Argo; but the ark of Deucalion (P.'s son) would necessarily be earlier. Here no particular ship is apparently meant, cf. Eur. *Supp.* 209-10. (See further G. D. Kellogg, *C.W.* 17 (1924) 81-4.)

**469-71** τοιαῦτα μηχανήματ': i.e. all the techniques which P. has described in 450-68. For the pointed contrast between his resourcefulness in helping mortals and his inability to help himself, see 239-41n. The point is emphasized by the juxtaposition τάλας βροτοῖσιν αὐτός, and by the echo from 442-3 τὰν βροτοῖς δὲ πήματα...

ὅτῳ ... ἀπαλλαγῶ (aorist passive subjunctive), 'by which I may escape from...', cf. 87.

**472-5** The *koryphaios* takes up P.'s point, and elaborates on it with a medical simile (cf. 225, 378-80), at the same time echoing P.'s own words (472 πῆμα / 471 πημονῆς; 474 σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχεις / 470 αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχω; 475 εὐρεῖν / 469 ἐξευρών; n.b. too the ironical echo at 472 ἀποσφαλεῖς φρενῶν of 444 φρενῶν ἐπιβόλους: P. has lost his resourcefulness and cleverness just when he needs them most (cf. 335-6).

If we were meant to mistrust P.'s account of his own benefactions, as being either exaggerated or misleading (as some critics argue that the various τέχναι are not in fact such unmixed blessings as P. claims), this

would be the most natural place to give us the necessary clues, in the response of a more-or-less neutral observer, the Chorus. But there is no hint of disagreement or rebuke in these four lines, beyond the criticism, already made by P. himself, that his benefactions have been disastrous for *himself*. This is the point of 472-3: not that P. lost his wits in helping mankind, but that he cannot find the means to help himself (see 507-10n., 85-6, 469-71). Thus 469-77 serve largely to avoid monotony by punctuating P.'s long narrative in conventional style (193-6, 1036-9nn.).

**472-3** ἀποσφαλείς φρενῶν | πλανᾷ: lit. 'deprived of wits you are wandering' (i.e. are at a loss), cf. 444, and 472-5n.; also 133-4n. For the asyndeton, see 235n. The rhythm of 472 is ponderous and halting, with its mid-line pause (6n.).

**473-5** σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχεις ... ἰάσιμος: (sc. εἰ, 42n.) lit. 'you are not able to discover yourself, by what drugs (you are) curable' (*prolepsis*, cf. 643-4, Smyth § 2182). For the commonplace of the doctor unable to cure himself, see Eur. (?) fr. 1086 Ν ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἔλκεσιν βρύων (with Nauck's n.), and e.g. Cicero, *Ad fam.* 4.5.5, Ovid, *De rem. am.* 314, and Luke 4.23 ἰατρέ, θεράπευσον σεαυτὸν (also Mark 15.31). It may be traced back to Hom. *Il.* 11.834-5 (about Machaon, the Achaeans' best physician) τὸν ... ὀίομαι ἔλκος ἔχοντα | χρηίζοντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος (with Eustathius *ad loc.*); see too 335-6.

**476** 'You will be even more amazed to hear the rest of my account.'

**477** τέχνας τε καὶ πόρους: τέχνη is a 'skill', πόρος a 'way' or 'means' of solving a problem or getting something done. The two terms sum up the range of P.'s gifts (cf. 47, 59, 108, 110-11, 254, 497, 506). So at 110-11 fire is διδάσκαλος τέχνης πάσης ... καὶ μέγας πόρος, i.e. fire *teaches* τέχνη and is itself a πόρος.

ἐμησάμην 'I thought up, invented' (μήδομαι); cf. 456-8n., *Introd.* p.2 n.5.

**478** A curious transition is made, as P. picks up and echoes the Chorus' words of 473-4, but now with literal, not metaphorical, application.

μέν is answered by 484 δέ, or not at all (cf. 484, 447-8, 1nn.).



**479–80** οὔτε βρώσιμον | οὐ χριστόν οὐδέ πιστόν: the distinction between cures to be swallowed (eaten or drunk, πίνω → πιστόν) and cures to be applied externally, was commonplace, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1407–8 τί κακὸν ... ἐδανὸν ἢ ποτόν ... ;, Eur. *Hipp.* 516 πότερα δὲ χριστόν ἢ ποτόν τὸ φάρμακον; For the combination οὔτε ... οὐ ... οὐδέ ..., see 450–1n.

**481–2** πρὶν γ' ἐγὼ ... ἐδειξα 'that is (γε) until I demonstrated...' (456–8n.). Usually the invention of medicine was ascribed to Asclepius, or to his father Apollo. ἥπιος is often used to suggest healing, e.g. Homer ἥπια φάρμακα (twice), Soph. *Ph.* 698 ἥπιοις φύλλοις.

**482–3** Greek medicine relied almost entirely on diet and poultices. P. of course exaggerates with ἀπάσας (for the word-order, τὰς ἀπάσας νόσους cf. 749, 751, 841, 975; the normal order only at 101 πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα: cf. 94n., and B. L. Gildersleeve, *Syntax of class. Greek* (New York 1900) II.309–11, Griffith 195). Perhaps medicine is here described as τὸ μέγιστον (478) because it is an undisputed benefit to mankind (unlike e.g. horses, sailing, mining, which were criticized by some as mere trappings of luxury); cf. 459, 500–3nn.

**484–90** P. is also inventor of μαντική (sc. τέχνη), the art of interpreting the meaning of divine signs. There are 'many ways' (484) of finding such meanings (cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.3 'Those who believe in prophecy (μαντική) use birds and voices and portents (σύμβολα) and sacrifices, and they think that the gods signify (σημαίνειν) through these things what is best for them (τὰ συμφέροντα)', cf. Xen. *Apol.* 13.); P. lists dreams (485–6), voices (486–7), meetings on the road (487), the flight and behaviour of birds (488–92), and sacrifices (493–9). To the Greeks, μαντική was as much a τέχνη as ἰατρική, cf. Hom. *Od.* 17.384: both dealt with realms that were largely beyond human understanding or control, but which crucially affected their life and happiness; Apollo, as ἰατρόμαντις, was traditionally patron deity of both. (See W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek state at war* (Berkeley 1979) III. 47–153, and Lawson 300ff., with modern parallels.) Occasionally scepticism was expressed about the value of μαντική (e.g. Xenophanes A 52 DK, Soph. *OT* 852–8, Eur. *Hel.* 744ff., etc.), but this was more often directed against its human practitioners (oracle-mongers, priests, etc.) than against the divine basis of the art, e.g. Eur. *El.* 399–400 Λοξίου γὰρ ἔμπεδοι | χρησμοί, βροτῶν δὲ μαντικὴν



χαίρειν ἔω (with Denniston's n.). Even rationalists, such as Protagoras, Socrates, and Plato, paid some attention to μαντική. For fifth- and fourth-century attitudes in general, cf. Thuc. 2.47.4, 5.103.2, 8.1, Dodds 180-2, 189-95, M. P. Nilsson, *Greek folk religion* (1940, repr. Philadelphia 1972) 123-38.

Here the prominence which P. gives to μαντική again demonstrates how thoroughly Hesiod's account is being transformed. In *Th.* 533ff., P. tried clumsily to give mankind an advantage by outwitting the gods with the sacrificial meal at Mecone; here he is instructing mankind how to achieve good relations with the gods, through the approved channels of conventional religion (cf. Plato, *Prot.* 322a).

**484** δέ, answering 478 μέν, seem better than τε.

ἑστοίχισα 'I lined up', almost 'classified' (cf. 230 διεστοιχίζετο, 489 διώρισα).

**485-6** 'I was the first to interpret from dreams what must happen during waking hours.' κρίνω is the technical term (as ὀνειροκρίτης).

**486-7** κληδόνας: chance 'utterances' (sometimes known as φῆμαι) which were thought to forebode certain events (Latin *omen*). Often a sort of irony is involved, as e.g. at Hom. *Od.* 18.117, 20.120, where Odysseus is pleased at what the previous speaker has just said, because unwittingly he has spoken words of special significance to Odysseus. (For further examples, see Hdt. 8.114, 9.64, 91, Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.16, and especially Pausan. 7.22.2-3 on the shrine of Hermes Agoraios, with Lawson 304-6, J. J. Peradotto, *A.J.Ph.* 90 (1969) 1-21.)

ἐνοδίους ... συμβόλους: sc. ὁλωνούς, in the metaphorical sense of 'signs', 488-92n. σύμβολος means lit. 'fitted together' (775n.), as of the two parts of a token which only make sense when combined and which then indicate the identity of the possessor. Thus when one thing is understood as a sign for something else, it is 'fitted into place', as a 'symbol' for it. 'Symbolic (encounters) on a journey' are frequently described in classical literature (e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 104-59, especially 144 ξύμβολα, Theophr. *Char.* 16.1-4, Horace, *Od.* 3.27.5ff.). So too, many modern peoples believe, for example, that there is a special significance in the first person one meets on a particular day (Lawson 306-8).

**488–92** It was natural to regard birds as intermediaries between heaven and earth, and divination from bird-watching (Latin *auspicium*) was widespread in Greece (though not a public office in Athens as in Rome). Teiresias and Calchas are the two best-known practitioners of the art (and see Aristoph. *Birds*, *passim*, especially 719–21, Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.23).

**488** γαμψωνύχων: it was chiefly the larger birds of prey (eagles, hawks, vultures, crows, etc.) that were used in augury.

**489–90** ‘... which ones are favourable by nature, and the sinister ones ...’ For the change in construction, see 91n.

**490** δίαιταν: probably here their ‘habitat’ rather than their ‘way of life’ or ‘diet’.

**491–2** τίνες | ἐχθραὶ ... στέργηθρα ... συνεδρία (sc. εἰσὶν): συνεδρία was the technical term used in augury for the position of birds ‘sitting together’ (Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* 9.1.608b 27–9, opp. διεδρία), and perhaps for their relation to the viewer (right or left, etc.); as such, it explains στέργηθρα (πρὸς ἀλλήλους), whereas ἐχθραὶ are the opposite, birds preying on one another (as e.g. in Hom. *Od.* 15.525ff.).

**493–5** All governed by διώρισα (489); lit. ‘(I explained) the smoothness of the entrails, and having what colour the bile would be pleasing to the gods, and the mottled symmetry of the liver-lobe.’ When a burnt offering was made, the state of the entrails was regarded as significant (= μαντεία δι’ ἐμπύρων; for the special importance of the liver, see Eur. *El.* 827–9); so was the manner in which the fat burned (496–9). See further S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer* (Oslo 1915).

**496–9** πυρώσας ... ὠδοῖσα θνητούς: again P. states that he personally set the example and thus ‘put mortals on the path to this difficult art’ (456–8n.). When cooking meat, the Greeks would take the thigh-bones (κῶλα) and chine (ὀσφῦς, the so-called ‘sacred bone’), wrap them totally in fat, and burn them. The smell and smoke that rose heavenward (κνῖσα, here transferred to the fat itself) were the gods’ share of the meal.

The manner in which the fat cooked and burned was carefully watched for ‘signs’ (σηματα) of divine approval or disapproval. According to Hesiod (*Th.* 535–57), it was P. who first made the unfair division whereby men got the meat, gods the fat and bones, and it is therefore P. who must be blamed for the miseries which mortals were given in return by Zeus (and for his own punishment): but here his institution of the arts of sacrifice is apparently an unalloyed blessing, and an encouragement to piety (though it is important to note that P. has taught mankind only the *techniques* of sacrifice, not the *principles* of εὐσέβεια or correct worship; cf. 506n.). The invention of burnt sacrifice was sometimes associated in tradition with P., as bringer of fire (so implicitly Hes. *Th.* 535–7, and e.g. Pliny *N.H.* 7.209 *occidit primus . . . Prometheus bovem*, S. Eitrem, *Eranos* 44 (1946) 14–19, K. Kerényi, *Prometheus* (Zurich 1946, tr. New York 1963) 54ff.; but cf. *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 105ff.

**499** ἐξωμμάτωσα . . . ἐπάργεμα: lit. ‘I made them (the signs) able to see (or ‘to be seen’), previously being blind with cataract’, as if the blindness of mortals (cf. 447) actually resided in the objects which they could not discern (*hypallage*, 358n.); see LSJ s.v. τυφλός II, and Latin *caecus*.

**500–3** The discovery and use of metals are also due to P. Thus the list ends with two τέχναι which were traditionally associated with him (burnt sacrifice, metallurgy), and which require the use of fire, whereas several of the others were not apparently attributed to P. at all before this play (building, numbers, sailing, prophecy from dreams, etc.). Mining and sailing were sometimes criticized by moralists as being unnatural and presumptuous ventures (e.g. Hes. *WD* 236ff., Lucr. *DRN* 5.1004ff., Horace, *Odes* 1.3.9ff. with Nisbet and Hubbard’s nn.), and it is a curious coincidence that P.’s two lists should end with these (467–8, 500–4). But in the absence of any indication in the text of this play that either is to be understood as anything but a benefit for mankind – as indeed most fifth-century Athenians, enjoying the prosperity gained from the silver mines of Laurium and their dominant sea-power, would naturally see them – we are not justified in reading sinister significance into this coincidence (see too 472–5, 507–10nn.). Nobody in this play denies that P.’s gifts are indeed benefits: the only question is, whether mankind should have been granted them against Zeus’ will.

**500** τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτ': a common idiom in oratory and narrative prose, to round off one topic before moving on to the next: 'Well, so much for that. . .' (see 221–7, 441–4, 801–2, 842–5, Griffith 209ff.; also 193–6, 609–12nn.).

**500–2** 'The benefits for man hidden away beneath the earth' remind us of Hesiod's statement (*WD* 42ff.) κρύψαντες γὰρ ἔχουσι θεοὶ βίον ἀνθρώποισι . . . κτλ. (and again, 50–1 κρύψε δὲ πῦρ . . .). Now the position is reversed, as P. has made mankind's life easier by revealing what was previously hidden away. In both cases Zeus is angered and P. suffers. (For ὀφελήματα, see 251n.)

τε links 'gold and silver' as one unit; there are thus only three separate categories, bronze, iron, and precious metals (see Cicero *De div.* 1.51.116 'aurum et argentum, aes, ferrum'; see too Hom. *Il.* 6.48, Eur. *Hipp.* 621 with Barrett's n.).

**502–3** The asyndeton builds up, through the increasingly valuable metals, to the enjambement (τίς | φήσειεν) and the rhetorical question, which in effect sums up the whole of 450–503, even though its specific reference is only to the metals.

**504** 'Nobody (would claim it), unless. . .' The answer to his own rhetorical question is unnecessary, but effective in its sarcasm.

**505** P. prepares his gnomic conclusion (506, cf. 17n.) with a self-conscious rhetorical flourish typical of this author ('to sum up. . .'); see 46, 609–12nn.

**506** An effective cap to the whole list (450–503), playing on the allegorical significance of P.'s name (86n.). Although in one sense it is the divine individual, P., who first 'discovered' these arts and 'gave' them to mankind (as in Aesch. fr. 278.11–12 L–J = fr. 343.45–6 M, probably from the satyric *P. Pyrkaeus* of 472 B.C., Προμηθεὺς βροτοῖς φερέσβιός τε καὶ σπενσίδωρος), in non-mythical terms they all came to mankind from *intelligence* and *forethought* (n.b. 444 ἔννοους . . . καὶ φρενῶν ἐπηβόλους, 456 γνώμης, and 450–506n.). Thus in Aristoph. *Plutus* (of 388 B.C.) the god of wealth is told (160–1): τέχναι δὲ πᾶσαι διὰ σέ καὶ

σοφίσματα | ἐν τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐσθ' εὐρήματα, where the allegory is transparent; and in *The Sophists*, a comedy of the late fifth century by the dramatist Plato, occurs the line (fr. 136 K) <καὶ> γὰρ Προμηθεὺς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις ὁ νοῦς. Similarly, from an earlier period, Eris, the personified spirit of healthy competition, is given credit by Hesiod (*WD* 17ff.) for spurring mankind to work and prosper. (See too Plutarch, quoted in fr. XIX.)

Nevertheless, we should note that P.'s gifts are all purely practical skills (as in Protagoras' tale, ἐντεχνος σοφία σὺν πυρί, 7–8n.); there is no mention of the social virtues (δικαιοσύνη, αἰδώς, εὐσέβεια, σωφροσύνη, or ἀρετή) or even of cities and laws. The process of human evolution is still not complete: mankind can survive, thanks to P., but, as in Protagoras' account, certain essential ingredients seem still to be lacking before he can be truly civilized. See *Introd.* pp. 3–4, *App.* pp. 303–4.

**507–25** In a short, symmetrical stichomythia (4,4,1,1,1,1,1,1,4), the Chorus lead P. to the brink of revealing what lies in store for Zeus; but he breaks off without telling all (see 609–30n., *Introd.* p. 16).

**507–10** The Chorus' four lines serve both to respond to P.'s long rhesis and to introduce the topic of further discussion (193–6n.). They confirm that P. *has* truly been a benefactor to mankind (507 ὠφέλει), and go so far (cf. 476 θαυμάσι) as to suggest for a moment that P. can find release and a position of power equal to Zeus'. The Chorus fail to acknowledge the limitations which brute force imposes on intellect (514n.), and ignore their own earlier remarks about Zeus' intransigence. The dialogue is thus led into discussion of the ultimate basis of power in the universe, and the question is raised in the audience's mind, what *will* happen to P., if and when he ever is released.

**507–8** μὴ...βροτοὺς μὲν ὠφέλει ... σκευτοῦ δ' ...: idiomatic parataxis for μὴ νῦν βροτοὺς ὠφελῶν σκευτοῦ ἀκήδει. The μὲν ... δέ antithesis sharpens the ironic contrast (239–41n.).

καιροῦ πέρα: P. has benefited mankind 'beyond' what is appropriate in the eyes of Zeus (as of Hephaestus, 30 πέρα δίκης) and 'beyond' what is profitable to himself. It is not clear that mankind would agree that they have been benefited 'too much' (30, 1093nn.): καιρός can be a relative term.

**511-14** P. replies that things cannot yet turn out as the Chorus hope: he must remain in torment for much longer. For the balancing four-line speeches, see 193-6n.

**511-12** Lit. 'Completion-bringing *moira* has not yet been appointed to fulfil these things in this manner', a characteristically open-ended usage of μοῖρα, a term denoting sometimes simply a person's share, i.e. what he receives from life (cf. 103-4 αἰσαν, 292), at other times a personified goddess, close to *Dike* and Zeus. The translation 'Fate' tends to obscure these distinctions. (See W. C. Greene, *Moira* (Harvard 1948), Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1535-6, Dodds 6-8.) Here we have a conflation of two statements, (i) Μοῖρα (personified) οὐπω ταῦτα κραίνει, (ii) οὐπω ταῦτα πέπρωται. Consequently, with μοῖρα both *active* subject of κραίνει (and τελεσφόρος), and also *passive* subject of πέπρωται (virtually 'fate has been fated...'), the status of the word is impossible to define with precision. So too πέπρωται, τὸ πεπρωμένον, denote 'what is given, ordained' (LSJ s.v. \*πόρω), without specifying who the giver is. While this will usually be felt more or less vaguely (among human beings) to be 'the gods', or '*moira*', here such vagueness is plainly unsatisfactory, and the Chorus and P. are led, through the mention of ἀνάγκη (514) into further discussion of the precise nature and relationship of μοῖρα and τὸ πεπρωμένον (516-19). See 103-5, 516nn., 815, *Introd.* pp. 17-19.

οὐ ταῦτα ταύτη: P. says only that he cannot *yet* be released (and be as powerful as Zeus) in quite the way that the Chorus suggest. He leaves open the future possibility of such a conclusion (256-8, 772nn.). For the *polyptoton*, see 19n.

**512-13** πημοναῖς ... καμφοῖς: (237n., 306, and 577-8, 995nn.) The variant κναμφοῖς has led some recent editors (including Page) to adopt Naber's κναφοῖς (κνάπτω = 'mangle, tear to shreds'). But MSS often confuse κάμπτω with γνάμπτω, and write κνάμπτω: this is the more likely explanation of the presence of ν here in two MSS.

φυγγάνω: prophetic present (171n.).

**514** 'Skill (cf. 506) is much less powerful than compulsion.' P. is replying to the Chorus' optimistic and unrealistic expression of 507-10, with a *gnome* which acknowledges his own impotence (contrast 59 with n.) and reminds us of the remarks of Hephaestus (16, 72) and of P.

himself (103-5, 107-8). For the opposite sentiment, cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.325 μήτι τοι δρυτόμος μέγ' ἀμείνων ἢ ἐ βίηφι ('a tree-cutter is much more effective with his wits than with brute strength'), which is echoed by 'Musaeus' B 4 DK ὥς αἰεὶ τέχνη μέγ' ἀμείνων ἰσχύος ἐστὶ (date uncertain). Strength and cunning are constantly contrasted in Greek literature (cf. 212-13) and in this play especially, Zeus' raw power and P.'s cleverness are frequently emphasized (1-87, 62, 736-7nn., Introd. pp. 7-10).

**515 ἀνάγκης...οὐλοκοσμήτορος:** (149n.) If P. is subject to ἀνάγκη, the Chorus naturally want to know who controls and directs ἀνάγκη, a term (like μοῖρα, 511-12n.) which ranges from the fairly concrete (as 108 'constraints', LSJ s.v. 3, 4) through the more general (16, 72 'necessity'), to virtual personification (105, 514-15, 1052 'Necessity'). See further H. Schreckenberg, *Ananke* (= *Zelemata* 36, 1964) 75-8, and Introd. pp. 17-18.

**516 Μοῖραι τριμορφοί:** (210n.) i.e. Clotho ('Spinner'), Lachesis ('Disposer of lots') and Atropos ('Inflexible') (Hes. *Th.* 904-5, with West's nn.). The *Moirai* (511-12n.) represent *what must be*, eternal, immutable, universal law. The *Erinyes* (whose etymology and original functions are not known) often work as the agents and enforcers of this law, punishing or correcting those who disturb the natural order of things. In human societies, it is above all the bonds of family and city that they protect, punishing kin-bloodshed, broken oaths, etc.; but when e.g. Achilles' horse speaks (Hom. *Il.* 19. 407ff.) it is the Erinyes who silence it; and if the sun were to stray from its course, the Erinyes would put it back (Heraclitus B 94 DK).

**μνήμονες:** sometimes punishment for wrong-doing comes late, and apparent injustices or imbalances may continue for a while, but the Erinyes' memories are long and accurate (so Aesch. *Eum.* 382 κακῶν μνήμονες, etc.).

**517 ἀσθενέστερος:** just as 'art is weaker than compulsion' (514), so, the *korymbaios* asks, is Zeus weaker than the controllers of ἀνάγκη?

**518 οὐκ οὐν... γε** 'Well, he certainly couldn't...', a cautious reply (cf.

322). For the relationship of Zeus to Fate elsewhere in Greek literature, see *Introd.* pp. 17–18.

τὴν πεπωμένην: see 103 and 511–12, 516nn.

**519** Cf. 49–50, 150–1; the question is raised again at 757.

**520** ‘You wouldn’t (i.e. won’t) find out any more about this...’ (sc. ‘however hard you might try’). To answer the Chorus’ question would be to reveal P.’s secret (170–1 with n.), though P. lets a little more out at 756–75. Greek creation myths, like those of the Near East, constantly tell of ruling gods overthrown by younger rivals – usually their sons (see 956–9). Thus the Chorus’ question, and P.’s prevarication, are not quite as surprising as they would be to e.g. a Christian audience: Zeus’ regime is still young and insecure (cf. *Introd.* pp. 7–8).

The variant οὐκ ἂν ἐκπύθοιο (G) is possible; the same confusion is found in the MSS at 617.

**521** ‘I suppose (που) that what you are keeping to yourself must be something holy and mysterious?’ ξυναμπέχεις is picked up by 523 συγκαλυπτέος. For the *syncopation* (ἀνα- to ἀμ- or ἀν-, for metrical convenience), cf. 457, 707, 791 ἀντολάς, 866 ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται, 817 ἐπανδιπλαζε with n.

**522–5** τόνδε (522), συγκαλυπτέος (523), τόνδε (524) all refer to the λόγος (‘subject of discussion’) which P. has broken off.

ὅσον μάλιστα ‘as far as possible’.

σώζων... ἐκφυγάνω: implied future condition, ‘If I keep it safe, I will escape...’ though the more immediate sense is also implied, (‘By keeping... I am escaping...’). P. echoes his own words from 513 (δύαις... δεσμά φυγάνω). Once again, the episode is rounded off by a four-line speech (193–6n.).

The scene ends in uncertainty. The hints that Zeus’ power may be threatened are growing broader and more explicit, but they are still vague and shadowy. The element of time is clearly all-important (511 πω, 519 ἀεὶ, 523 καιρός). P. is prepared to wait until the right moment; it seems that it rests with Zeus to make the next move, but there is no sign what that will be.



### 526-60: Third Song (Second Stasimon) of the Chorus

The Chorus pray never to incur Zeus' anger (526-39), as P. did by helping mortals (540-4). They go on to remind P. how powerless mortals are to help him in return (545-51), and how much worse his life is now than when he first married their sister (552-60).

The dominant theme is the contrast between the power of Zeus and the helplessness of lesser beings. The daughters of Ocean here seem less than divine in their attitude to the gods, though they describe humans as being even further below (547-51). The ode serves to highlight P.'s boldness and generosity in helping mankind, as we are told of the comfortable life that could have been his had he obeyed Zeus' will. In the cautious, personal expressions of general truths in relation to particular examples, it resembles certain odes of Euripides, e.g. *Med.* 410ff., 627ff., or even *Ba.* 370ff., wherein the Chorus, as concerned, but to some extent detached, observers, are contrasted with the extreme attitudes and sufferings of the protagonist, as they draw conventional but inadequate morals, and express their own little anxieties and preferences.

#### *Metre: strophe and antistrophe a*

526	μηδ' ἄμ' ὅ παντὰ νημῶν	D
536	ἦδυ τι θαρσαλεαίς	
527	θεῖτ' ἔμαι γνῶμαι κρατὸς ἀντίπαλόν Ζεὺς.	e x D x
537	τον μακρὸν τεινείν βίον ἐλπισι, φαναίς	
529	μηδ' ἔλινυσσάμι θεοὺς ὅσιν	e x D
539	θυμὸν ἀλδαινοῦσαν ἐν εὐφροσύναις	
530	θοῖναις ποτινισομένα	x D
540	φρίσσω δὲ σε δερκομένα	
531	βουφόνους παρ' Ὀκεανοῦ πατρός ἀσβεστόν πόρον.	e x D x e
541	μυριοῖς μοχθοῖς διακναιομένον < >.	
533	μηδ' ἀλῖτοίμι λόγοις.	D
543	Ζηνα γὰρ οὐ τρομέων	

534 ἄλλα μοι τοῖδ' ἔμμενοι καὶ μηποτ' ἐκτάκειη. || e x e x e ba  
 544 (οἰκείαι) γινώμαι σεβηὶ θνατοὺς ἄγαν, Προμηθεύ.

The metre is pure dactylo-epitrite (see Maas § 40-2, Dale 178-94), made up of the three elements of that metre in various combinations: (1) dactylic hemiepes, or expanded choriamb, ( $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - = D$ ), (2) cretic ( $- \cup - = e$ ), (3) *anceps* ( $\cup = x$ ). Only the final clausula ( $- \cup - \cup - -$ , cretic + bacchiac) slightly modifies this pattern, as often in tragic dactylo-epitrites. This metre is common in Pindar and Bacchylides, and also in Sophocles and Euripides (cf. too 887ff.), but is not found in the extant lyrics of Aeschylus (see Griffith 40-2).

### *Strophe and antistrophe β*

545 φερ' ὅπως χάρις ἄ χάρις, ὦ φίλος, εἶπε πού τις ἄλκα;  
 553 ἔμαθον ταδε σας προσιδουσ' ὀλοας τυχας, Προμηθεύ,

547 τις ἔφαμεριῶν ἄρηξις; οὐδ' ἔδερχθης  
 555 το διαμφιδιον δε μοι μελος προσεπτα

548 ὀλιγοδρανίαν ἄκικύν ἰσονειρόν, αἱ τὸ φῶτων  
 556 τοδ' ἐκεينو θ' ὁ τ' ἀμφι λουτρα και λεχος σον ὕμεναιου

550 ἄλαὸν γένος ἔμπεποδισμένον; οὐπότῃ 4½ dactyls  
 558 ἰστατι γαμῶν ὅτε ταν ὁμοπατριον (rising)

552 ταν Δίος ἀρμόνιαν θνατῶν παρεξίασι βουλαί. || D x e x e x  
 560 ἀγαγες Ἑσιοναν πιθων δαμαρτα κοινολεκτρον.

The metrical scheme is rather unusual, and cannot be broken down into familiar cola; but the general movement and character of the ode are easy to follow. The first three cola open with rising double-shorts ( $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup \dots$ ), then drop into single-shorts ( $\cup - \cup -$ ), with pendant close ( $\dots \cup - -$ ): in the second and third cola the single-shorts are dominant. In all three, we have in effect a greatly expanded version of such aeolic cola as  $\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -$  (glyconic) and  $- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - -$  (alcaic decasyll.). The double-shorts take over completely with purely dactylic 550 = 558; then the last colon, like the

first, combines double- with single-short, this time in dactylo-epitrite (—υυ—υυ— χ—υ— χ—υ—χ = D x e x e x). The stanza is thus an interesting cross between aeolic (of the 'enoplian' kind, Dale 157-77, cf. 190-4) and the more regular dactylo-epitrite of 526-44. For fuller discussion, and parallels in Sophocles and Euripides, see Griffith 42-7; Aeschylus offers nothing comparable.

**526-7** 'May Zeus, the director of all things, never set his power in opposition to my thoughts.' In contrast to what we have just heard from P. (515-20), the Chorus sing as if Zeus were the sole governor of the universe (ὁ πάντα νέμων, cf. 149 οἰακονόμοι, 229 νέμει, 516n.). To those who lack P.'s prophetic powers, Zeus' control of gods and men appears to be absolute. For θεῖτο ... κράτος, cf. 164 θέμενος ... νόον (again of Zeus).

**529** μηδ' ἐλινύσασμι: cf. 53 μή σ' ἐλινύοντα προσδερχθῇ πατήρ, where another deity (Hephaestus) is again terrified of Zeus' anger.

**530-1** θοίναις ... βουφόνις: the daughters of Ocean here talk in human terms of making sacrifice to the gods (not, as Wecklein suggests, inviting the gods to dinner). In a play containing only one human character (Io), the timid Chorus at times come close to representing mankind, and to reflecting the feelings of the audience. Nymphs are found making sacrifices in Latin poetry (e.g. Virg. *Georg.* 4.380, Ovid, *Mel.* 8.580, *Fasti* 4.423).

**531-2** As unmarried girls, the Chorus naturally picture their sacrifice as being made at their father's home (133-4n.).

ὑσβεστον πόρον: cf. 139 ἀκοιμήτῳ ρεύματι, and Aesch. *Ag.* 958.

**533** 'And may I not sin by word of mouth:' the gods may be pleased, or offended, both by deeds (i.e. sacrifice or sacrilege) and by words (i.e. prayer or blasphemy), cf. 660 δρῶντα ἢ λέγοντα, with n., and 336, 1080; so too e.g. Soph. *OT* 864-5.

**535** ἀλλὰ μοι τόδ' ἐμμένει 'but may this (precept) hold good for me, and never melt away', (for the reading, see 544n.). After the *anaphora* μηδαμὰ ... μηδὲ ... μηδὲ ..., the final period of the stanza introduces the

positive part of the prayer. τὸδε surely refers to the opening statement of the antistrophe (536-9), though some take it to mean simply 'this prayer' (not to incur Zeus' anger), referring to 526-33.

**ἐκτακεῖν**: perhaps an echo of the 'wasting' process which P. resists so vigorously (94, 147, 269, 541), or possibly a more specific 'melting' of words inscribed on wax (cf. 789); cf. Aristoph. *Clouds* 772, and Sansone 60.

**536-9** 'It is a pleasant thing to draw out the length of one's life (cf. 449 with n.) with confident expectations, nourishing one's spirit in bright cheerfulness.' The gnomic statement of modest aspiration (*makarismos*, introduced, as often by ἡδύ..., cf. Eur. *Ba.* 135, Theocr. 1.1, etc.) recalls Theognis 765ff.: ὦδ' εἶναι καὶ ἀμεινον, εὐφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας | νόσφι μεριμνάων εὐφροσύνως διάγειν | τερπομένους. Both ἐλπίς and εὐφροσύνη are desirable, but they can only be attained through a cautious life. The Oceanids will be happy as long as they stay at home (531), pay respect to the gods (526-39), and avoid P.'s mistakes (540ff.). There is nothing *wrong* with this approach to life (which is not unlike that of Chrysothemis in Soph. *El.*, or Ismene in *Ant.*); indeed it epitomizes the spirit of σωφροσύνη, which P. so notably lacks. But under a tyranny such as Zeus' (or Aegisthus', or Creon's), σωφροσύνη may not appeal to those of free spirit.

**540-1** P. is taken as the example (negative paradigm) which proves the general rule (see 347-72, 553-4, 894-900nn.). The language recalls 93-4, the thought 144-6, 181 5, 507-8.

**541** μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον: cf. 94 διακναιόμενος τὸν μυριετῆ χρόνον. Four syllables are missing here, as the metre of the strophe shows. The line makes sense as it stands, and no supplement can be more than a guess, e.g. θνατῶν χάριν (Tommasini) or Ζηνὸς κῶτωι (Havet).

**543-4** Ζῆνα ... οὐ τρομέων: cf. 29 οὐχ ὑποπτήσσω, 174 οὐποτε ... πτήξας, 960 μὴ ... ὑποπτήσσειν. In contrast to the timid Chorus, P. has no fear of authority (178 θρασύς, 235 ἐτόλμησα, etc.), and he experiences μόχθος rather than εὐφροσύνη. N.b. once again the opposition Ζῆνα ... θνατούς (10-11n.).

**ἰδίαι γνώμαι**: the phrase makes perfect sense ('pursuing your *own*



then οὐπὸτ' is in unsatisfactory responsion to ἔδνοις. More probably, ἔδνοις at 558 is an intrusive gloss (558-60n.)

**552** 'The plans of mortals will never escape the arrangement of Zeus.' The sense of ἀρμονία here is hard to define: possibly 'temperament' (as at Eur. *Hipp.* 162), or perhaps 'established order', i.e. 'rule' cf. LSJ s.vv. ἀρμόζω 14, ἀρμοστής. The whole phrase recalls Hom. *Od.* 5.103 οὐπωκ' ἔστι Διὸς νόον ... παρελθεῖν, cf. Hes. *Th.* 613, Aesch. *Supp.* 1048, and 906-7 below.

**553-4** Again the example of P. stands as particular evidence for the general statement (540-1n.).

**555-8** 'And the utterly different melody came suddenly over me (προσπέτομαι, cf. 115n., 644) - this one, and (i.e. 'different from') that one which, at your nuptial bath and bed, I was singing (as) the wedding-song in joy at your marriage.' τόδε μέλος, i.e. lamentation for P. (cf. 397ff.), is a complete contrast to the last occasion on which they sang for him.

'The (wedding) bath was taken both by the bride and bridegroom, in the house of the bride's parents ... The Hymenaeae song accompanied by flutes was sung thrice, during the bath, during the procession [sc. to the groom's house] and at night before the door of the marriage chamber (= *epithalamium*)', Sikes and Willson *ad loc.* For a comparable contrast of moods reflected in memories of former song, see Eur. *Tro.* 147-52 ... ἐξάρξω ἐγὼ | μολπάν, οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν | οἶαν ποτὲ δὴ ... κτλ.

ἰώταται: originally 'by the will of', but here, uniquely, 'for the sake of'.

τόδ' ἐκεῖνό θ' ὁ τ': i.e., 'this one and that are different ...', cf. 927 with n., and Latin *atque, ac*, in comparisons. ὁ τε, 'epic' relative, no more than a metrically convenient form of ὁ or ὁ τι (*GP* 523-4, cf. 1071n.) is more likely than ὅτε = 'when' (in which case ὁμειναιῶν would be used absolutely).

**558-60** '... when you took our sister Hesione by persuasion (to be) your bed-sharing wife'. The MSS read ἔδνοις ἡγαγεσ ... κτλ., 'winning her with gifts', i.e. a bride-price (ἔδνα, as Hom. *Od.* 6.159, etc., though normally it is the father rather than the bride who is thus persuaded; see

further Sikes and Willson's n.). But 558 is two syllables longer than 550, which appears to be sound (see 548–50n.). The scholiast to M (Herington 560 a, p. 157) comments: *πείθων δάμαρτα· ἔδνοις πείθων τὴν ἔσομένην σοι δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον*, which may indicate the source of error, if *ἔδνοις* crept thence into the text. The metre is slightly better without it, with no spondaic variation of the lyric dactyls.

In Hes. *Th.* and *WD* P. has no wife; in Hes. fr. 2 (= schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1086) Pyrrha is so mentioned; in Hdt. 4.45 his wife is Asia (another daughter of Ocean). Hesione is given as his wife also by Acusilaus (schol. Hom. *Od.* 10.2 = *FGH* 2 F 34). The Chorus' mention of that cheerful, now irrelevant, occasion (comparable to e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 915ff., for contrast of 'then/now'), serves both to highlight P.'s fall from happiness (the main theme of the ode, cf. 536–44), and to prepare us for the arrival of Io, another female loved by a god. Perhaps, in the back of our minds, we may also have thoughts of that ideal marriage between Peleus and Thetis – cf. 764ff.?

### 561–886: Third Episode: The Io Scene

This long scene between Io, P., and the Chorus may conveniently be divided into nine sections: (i) Io's anapaestic entrance and lyric monody (561–608); (ii) stichomythia between Io and P. concerning their respective fates (609–30); (iii) Io's account of her troubles so far (631–86); (iv) a brief lyric outburst of horror and sympathy from the Chorus (687–95); (v) P.'s account of Io's future wanderings in Europe (696–741), interrupted by (vi) stichomythia between Io and P. on their future prospects (742–81); (vii) P.'s account of the rest of Io's future travels, in Asia and Africa (782–822); (viii) P.'s account of Io's *past* travels (823–43), and of the future events stemming from her eventual arrival in Egypt (844–76); (ix) Io's anapaests, as she is driven off the stage in madness (877–86). As this summary shows, the sequence is far from straightforward: the two protagonists jump from past to future and back again; Io's story is told partly by herself, partly by P.; and the Chorus interrupt twice (631–4, 782–5) to change the direction of P.'s speech. The loss of coherence and unity is offset by the increase in liveliness and variety in the narrative, and by the manner in which the past and future fates of P. and Io are interwoven, so that their encounter, which at first appears merely accidental and inconsequential,

is shown to have far-reaching implications. For the moment, of course, nothing is changed, and the scene leaves the audience almost as puzzled as before about the prospects and manner of P.'s release or Zeus' fall.

The story of Io was well-known, to judge from fifth-century literature and art: daughter of Inachus (the river-spirit, formerly king, of Argos), she unwittingly aroused Zeus' desire; the ever-jealous Hera therefore transformed her into a cow, posting the many-eyed Argus to watch over her. (In some versions it was Zeus who transformed her, to avert suspicion.) Zeus sent Hermes to kill Argus; Hera retaliated by sending a gadfly to torment the cow and drive her ceaselessly from place to place. Finally Io found rest in Egypt, and bore Zeus a son. The story was treated by Hesiod (frs. 124, 294 M-W), Acusilaus (*FGH* 2 F 26), Bacchyl. 18 (19) 15-28 (see too Apollod. 2.1.1-3, with Frazer's nn.) and several times on the Attic stage, most notably in Aesch. *Supp.* and Soph. *Inachus*. In the former, the Chorus of Danaids constantly call on, and refer to, their ancestress Io; in particular, at 291-324, they tell in stichomythia how Io came to Egypt, their own home. Sophocles' *Inachus*, (frs. 269a-295a R), almost certainly satyric, concentrated on Zeus' deception of Inachus in pursuit of Io, Inachus' rage and frustration, Hermes' killing of Argus (apparently with the help of soothing music and the Cap of Hades), and probably some sort of reconciliation, in which Argos received special blessings from Zeus. Io's metamorphosis (partial or total - it is not clear) is described in vivid detail, but she probably did not appear on the stage at all. (See further R. Carden, *The papyrus fragments of Soph.* (Berlin 1974) 52-93; D. F. Sutton, *Sophocles' Inachus* (Meisenheim 1979) *passim*.) Both plays show distinct similarities of diction and theme with this episode of *Prom.*, but the precise relationship cannot be determined; Aesch. *Supp.* dates from the 460s, *Inachus* probably from the 440s or 430s B.C. (Further Sutton, *Soph. Inachus* 1-8, 46-8, 73-5, and R. D. Murray, *The motif of Io in Aesch. Supp.* (Princeton 1958).)

Nothing in these various versions of the Io myth will have in any way prepared the audience of *Prom.* for her participation in this play. The chained Titan and the cow-shaped girl from Argos would appear to have nothing in common. Indeed, we have just been reminded that P. cannot expect any human intervention or assistance at all (545ff.). But as the scene unfolds, Io is linked to P. by two strands. The most direct is through the figure of Heracles, who will be a descendant of Io from her



eventual union with Zeus in Egypt, and will at last release P. from his torments (771–4, 871–3): this is the piece of information to which the whole Io scene builds. But equally important, as an underlying source of unity and point, is the figure of Zeus. Io, as victim of Zeus' arbitrary and selfish passion, is a human – and mobile – counterpart to the humiliated Titan. Both appear to exemplify the excesses of the young tyrant: yet both will somehow, in time, be reconciled with him and restored to positions of honour. (Io also turns out to be a niece of the Chorus (636); but nothing is made of this.)

Indeed, like the Ocean scene (284–397n.), the whole Io scene stands almost as a 'play within a play' ... (Taplin 265–7 ... 'her entry is given no preparation; it comes as a complete surprise ... Even more inexplicably, [the scene] is never referred to again after it is over.') It was perhaps to some degree balanced by the Heracles scene of *P. Lyomenos*, which contained lengthy predictions of his travels north and west, (cf. fr. xi); and possibly by another scene involving Thetis (App. p. 301). But as it stands, it is a curious, yet effective, intrusion into the drama of P., bringing as it does a human being, wildly dancing and singing, into the presence of the immobile, grimly prophetic Titan, and providing a variety of moods and descriptions which serve to enliven the audience's imagination in unexpected ways. The entry and departure of Io are both sensational moments (561–5, 877–86nn.), as was the arrival of Ocean. Like Ocean, she changes nothing; but the audience has learned more about P., and has perhaps come to appreciate his philanthropy a little more; they have certainly come to a clearer view of the harshness of Zeus, no longer solely through P.'s complaints, but through witnessing a tormented and helpless victim more like themselves.

### 561–608: Io's Monody

A young woman, with cow's horns attached to her mask (588n.), enters, probably along one *parodos* into the *orchestra* (571–3n.). She is being pursued, as she thinks, by a stinging horsefly (566n.), which drives her to fits of semi-madness, expressed in lyric monody.

The structure of the monody is quite elaborate:

Anapaests (561–5):

Io asks where she is and whom she sees.

- Astrophic lyrics (566–73): She complains of her torment from the gadfly.
- Lyric strophe (574–88): She appeals to Zeus for release from her pain and wandering.
- (Iambic trimeters (589–92): P. identifies her correctly.)
- Lyric antistrophe (593–608): Io reacts in wonder at P.'s knowledge, and asks for further information about her future.

The dominant themes are torment and wandering. Both are introduced in the opening anapaests (χειμαζόμενον, ποινάς, μογερά: τίς γῆ, πεπλάνημαι), and then developed in the monody (τάλαιναν, φοβοῦμαι, τάλαιναν, νῆστιν, πημοναῖσιν, δείματι, παράκοπον, πημονάς, ταλαίπωρον?, νόσον, κέντροισι, αἰκείαις, μογοῦσιν, παθεῖν, νόσου, all refer to physical suffering: πορεύεται, κυνηγετεῖ, πλανᾶι, τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι, πολύπλανοι πλάναι, φοιταλέοισιν, σκιρτημάτων, δυσπλάνωι, all specify the nature of Io's torment, i.e. constant roaming and leaping in the effort to escape the maddening sting of the fly). We are quickly made to feel the community of suffering that exists between Io and P., with its common origin in Zeus (cf. 1085–6n., Schinkel 136–7). As in the First Stasimon, the greater emotional intensity of lyrics, with their more subtle and varied rhythms, freer use of repetitions and exclamations, and wider range of expression, serves to build a mood of pain and misery.

### *Metre of 566–73*

- 566 χρῑεῑ τίς αὐ̄ | μέ ταν̄ τᾱλαιναν̄ οἰστρ̄ος. || 2 iambs + bacchiac
- 567 εἰδ̄ωλ̄ον Ἀργ̄ου γηγ̄ενους̄. | 2 iambs
- ἄλευ' ἄ | δᾱ φο̄βουμαῑ || bacchiac + trochaic
- 568 τ̄ον̄ μυρῑωπον̄ εἰσο̄ρωσᾱ βοῡταν. || 2 iambs + bacchiac
- 569 ὃ̄ δε̄ πο̄ρεῡεταῑ | δο̄λιον̄ ὁ̄μμ' ἔχ̄ων̄ | 2 dochmiacs
- 570 ὃν̄ οὐ̄δε̄ κᾱτθαν̄οντᾱ γαῑᾱ κεῡθεῑ. || 2 iambs + bacchiac

571 ἄλλα με τὰν ταλαινᾶν || choriamb + bacchiac  
(= aristophanean)

572 ἔξ ἐνερῶν περὶ κύνηγεται πλάναι | 2 dochmiacs

573 τέ νηστὶν ἀνὰ τὰν παραλίαν ψάμμον. || 2 dochmiacs

A lively mixture of dochmiacs and syncopated iambs, such as is often found in scenes of high emotion in tragedy (cf. 687ff.). At 571 we have a colon (—υυ—υ—υ) similar to the dochmiac —υυ—υ—, followed by four dochmiacs: this colon, the 'aristophanean' (i.e. chor. + ba., cf. 134 = 150, 419 = 424), is usually found only in choriambic or aeolic contexts. (For further discussion, see Griffith 261–3.) 572 appears also to offer an unusual variation on the basic dochmiac, the 'hexasyllabic' form υ—υ—υ— (see 572n.), unless we analyse as κύνηγεται | πλάναι τέ νησ- | τὶν ἀνὰ τὰν | παραλίαν ψάμμον || (2 iambs + cretic + dochmiac).

*Strophe and antistrophe α (574–608)*

574 ὑπὸ δε κηροπλαστός ὅτοβει δονᾶξ | 2 dochmiacs  
593 ποθεν ἐμου συ πατρος ὄνομ' ἀπυεις;

575 ἀχέτας ὑπνοδοτὰν νόμον || cretic +  
592 εἶπε μοι ται μογεραὶ, τίς ὦν, dochmiac

576 ἰὼ ἰὼ ποιοί, ποί μ' ἀγούσι τηλεπλάγκτοι πλάναι; |  
595 τίς ἄρα μ', ὦ ταλας, τὰν ταλαινὰν ὠδ' ἐτύμα προσθροεῖς  
dochmiac + hypodochmiac + dochmiac

577 τί ποτέ μ', ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ, τί ποτέ ταισδ' | 3 cretics  
596 θεοστυόν τε νοσὸν ὠνομασας, ἅ

579 ἔνεζευξας εὐρῶν ἁμαρτύναν ἐν πημόναισιν, || 5 bacchiacs  
598 μαραινέ με χρίουσα κέντροισι φοιταλεοῖσιν;

580 ἐξ οἰστρηλατῶν δὲ δειματὶ δειλαῖαν | x e x D (?)  
598 ἐξ σκιρτημάτων δὲ νηστισὶν αἰκείαις

581 παῤακόπον ᾠδε̄ τειρε̄ις; || iambic + bacchiac  
 600 λαβροσυτος ἤλθον <Ἑρας>

582 πυρι<με>φλεξον. ἦ χθονὶ καλυψον ἦ κοντιοῖς δακε̄σῑ δο̄ς βο̄ραν |  
 601 ἐπικοτοισι μηδεσι δαμεισα δυσδαιμονων δε τινες οἱ ἐ ἐ  
 2 dochmiacs + cretic + dochmiac

584 μηδε̄ μοι φθονη̄ση̄ς || cretic + bacchiac  
 603 οἱ' ἐγω̄ μογουσιν;

585 εὐγμᾱτων ἀναξ. ἄδην με̄ πολῡπλανοῑ πλαν̄αι |  
 604 ἄλλα μοι τορως τεκμηρον ὁ τι μ' ἐπαμμενει  
 iambic pentasyllable + 2 iambs

586 γε̄γυμνᾱκᾱσιν. οὐδ' ἐχῶ̄ μαθειν̄ ὅπαῑ | 3 iambs  
 606 παθειν̄ τι μηχαρ ἦ τι φαρμακον νοσου;

587 πη̄μονας̄ ἄλυξῶ. || cretic + bacchiac  
 607 δειξον̄ εἰπερ οἶσθα,

588 κλῡεις̄ φθε̄γμᾱ τας̄ | βουκε̄ρω̄ | παρθε̄νου; || dochmiac +  
 608 θροει, φραζε̄ ταῑ δυσπλανωῑ παρθενωι. 2 cretics

Again dochmiac and syncopated iambic. Apart from 576 = 595, where the text is uncertain (576n.), there are two unusual elements here. (1) 580 = 591 seems to be dactylo-epitritic, with 'contracted' hemiepes (—υυ—~~υυ~~—), since x υυ—x— (dochmiac), would be impossible after x—υ—x (*anceps* followed by *anceps*). (2) At 585 = 605 we have —υ—υ—, perhaps a truncated version of —υ— υ— (cretic bacchiac) found occasionally elsewhere in iambic context. (See further Griffith 52, 64–5, 264–5.) An alternative analysis of 577–8 = 596–7 would be υυυ—υυυ (dochmiac), followed by six cretics and final *anceps*.

Strophe and antistrophe present some effective verbal responsions, e.g. 576 ἰὼ πόποι ~ 595 ὦ τάλας, 580 ~ 599, 588 ~ 608. We note too the curious use of exclamations (576 ἰὼ ἰὼ πόποι, 601 ἐ ἐ) in responsion to ordinary words (595 τίς ἄρα μ' ὦ τάλας, 582 βοράν); normally an exclamation is matched by another exclamation in responsion, or else it remains *extra metrum*.

**561-5 Metre:** anapaests. With no previous announcement of her approach from P. or the Chorus, Io rushes in. Her opening anapaests contain no address, four abrupt questions, and an imperative. The audience is totally unprepared for her arrival (cf. 284-396n.): but she is quickly identifiable from the horns on her head; perhaps her whole mask is cow-shaped.

Whereas Kratos, Bia, and Hephaestus (1ff.), the Oceanids (127ff.), and Ocean (284ff.) have all come to this spot at the ends of the earth out of duty or curiosity, with the express purpose of dealing with P., the mortal Io rushes in with no idea where she is or who the figure chained to the rock may be. Mad, ignorant, and powerless, she is a suitable representative of the human race.

**561-2 τί γένος:** either 'What people (lives in this region)?', or 'What family (do I see)?', referring to the Chorus. Possibly γῆ, γένος, τόνδε, are mentioned in the order in which Io sees them as she enters the orchestra up the side-entrance (571-3n.), and then she addresses P. directly (563-4) once she comes face to face with him.

τίνα φῶ λεύσσειν | τόνδε 'Whom am I to say that I see here . . .?' For the change in construction see P.'s opening words (91n.).

χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν: lit. 'in rocky bridles', see 5n., 54, 672.

**563 χεμαζόμενον:** lit. 'being exposed to bad weather', but also metaphorical, 'suffering terribly', as at 643, 838, 1015. This metaphorical usage is common in the medical writers (see 746 with n., also 133-4, 225, 379-80nn., and Dumortier (1) 70-1, Introd. p. 20).

**563-4** 'As punishment for what crime are you being destroyed?' For ἀπλακίας, cf. 112, 620, and 8-9n., 577-8.

ποινάς could be described as accusative 'in apposition to the sentence' (as 614 δίκην), or as virtual 'retained' accusative (171n.), i.e. 'you are punished a punishment' (Smyth §991b).

**566 ἀἰεε:** Io shrieks in pain and terror (cf. 114n.). She continues in agitated lyric rhythms (see metrical analysis of 561-608), which reflect her distracted state of mind, and are presumably accompanied by expressive melody, dance steps, and gestures.

χρίει τις . . . οἰστρος 'A sort of (τις) sting is pricking me once again . . .'

χρίει, lit. 'touches, grazes', as of an ointment (cf. 480 χριστός) or an insect; for the sense 'prick', (again 598, 675, 880), cf. Soph. *Tr.* 833, and LSJ *s.v.* ἐγγρίω II. (Eur. *Med.* 633 offers a curious contrast.) Some editors write τίς, 'What sting (is this which) pricks me?'; but Io knows it all too well (αὖ). οἰστρος was the Greek name for what we should call a horsefly; an alternative name was μύωψ (675; cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 306–9; but Aristot. *Hist. anim.* 1.5.490a 21 distinguishes between the two). So οἰστρος came to be used of human 'frenzy', e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1300 σῆς γυναικὸς οἰστρον = 'your wife's mad love' (and below 692 κέντρῳ). Here (and again 836 (see n.) and 879) it remains ambiguous whether the literal or metaphorical meaning is intended – though of course in any case no fly would be visible to the audience (though the *aulos*-player might make appropriate buzzing sounds, cf. 574–5); see next n., and 692n.

**567 εἰδῶλον Ἄργου:** Argus, the hundred-eyed (or ten-thousand-eyed?, cf. 568 μυριωπόν, 677–8 πυκνοῖς ὄσσοις) guard whom Hera had set over Io, is dead (570, 680–1), killed by Hermes (whose traditional epithet is Ἀργειφόντης); but Io describes the οἰστρος τις as 'the image of Argus'. If this is what is driving her to frenzy, we appear to have two levels of meaning: on the first, Io, the cow, as in the traditional version of the myth, is tormented by the horsefly; on the second, Io, the woman, is tormented by hallucinations of touch (566), sight (568), and hearing (574ff.). These hallucinations are described as θεόσυτος νόσος (596), while the physical fly is ὀξύστομος μύωψ (674). The combined effect is of a μάστιξ θεία (682). At 673–5 she describes both physical and mental transformation (see n.), and at 878–86 her torment is described as being both madness (μανία) and stinging (οἰστροῦ ἄρδεις). Others prefer to take εἰδῶλον as accusative, i.e. as object of ἄλγεε, or of φοβοῦμαι: but τις strongly suggests that οἰστρος is less than fully literal, and that εἰδῶλον Ἄργου is intended to explain it more precisely. In Sophocles' *Inachus*, Argus himself appeared and sang lyrics (schol. M to *Prom.* 574a Herington = Soph. fr. 281).

γηγενοῦς: cf. 677, and 351–2n. Acusilaus (*apud* Apollod. 2.1.3 = *FGH* 2 F 27) agrees in naming Earth as Argus' mother: others differed.

ἄλευ', ἃ δᾶ, φοβοῦμαι: the text is uncertain, but nothing better has been suggested. If ἃ δᾶ is right, it is probably no more than an expression of terror (see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1072 with *Addendum* p. 832), and ἄλγεε means simply 'Help!' cf. 687 ἄπεχε). For ἀλευαδα, Wilamowitz wrote

ἀλεῦμαι, and removed φοβοῦμαι as a gloss (it is missing from one MS): 'I flee from the ghost of Argus . . .' But ἀλεῦμαι would be an odd Ionic form (122n.), and the corruption unlikely.

**568** τὸν μυριωπὸν . . . βούταν: (cf. 94n.). Argus is more fully described at 677–82.

**571–3** 'But, coming from the dead, he hunts me and drives me hungry along the sand of the sea-shore.' For the hunting metaphor, see 858, 1072, 1078–9 (also 72, 73, 263). κυνηγετεῖ was emended by Hermann to κυναγεῖ, to produce a regular dochmiac (υ – – υ –); but there are a few examples of the 'hexasyllabic' dochmiac (υ – υ – υ –) in tragedy (cf. Conomis 28ff.), and the corruption from κυνηγέω to κυνηγετέω (less familiar in later Greek) is not very likely. (See further Griffith 262–3.)

νήστιν: cf. 599 νήστισιν αἰκείαις; she is never allowed to pause to eat. (LSJ wrongly took νήστιν with ψάμμον; corrected in LSJ *Suppl.* p. 104.)

ἀνὰ τὰν παραλίαν ψάμμον: this suggests that Io enters into the *orchestra*, with P. on the slightly elevated stage (representing the cliff-face), and confirms that P.'s rock is overlooking the sea: we note that Io has no need of wings to approach him (Introd. p. 31, and n. on *Prologue*). At 748–9, she thinks of hurling herself to her death 'from this rough rock': perhaps at the end of her monody she mounts the stage (i.e. climbs the rock) and stands next to P. (607–8n.).

**574** ὑπὸ . . . ὀτοβεῖ: *tnesis* (133–4n.). The sense of ὑπο- is 'secretly, softly', cf. 126 ὑποσυρίζει. 'The shrill, wax-made pipe drones (its) soporific melody.' Argus, being a herdsman (568, 677), may have played the Pan-pipes cf. Soph. fr. 281a R: but if it is these that Io now thinks that she hears, why do they put her to sleep? Perhaps they work like a snake-charmer's pipe. More likely, *Hermes'* pipe is meant, with which he put Argus to sleep before killing him. ὀτοβος, ἡχέτης are normally used of loud, not very soothing, noises, but see Soph. *Aj.* 1202 γλυκὺν αὐλῶν ὀτοβόν.

κηρόπλωστος: not actually 'made of wax', but 'with'. Wax held the reed-stems of the Pan-pipes together (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.32–3, Ovid, *Met.* 1.711–12). Meineke's κηροπικτος is unnecessarily fastidious. Io's lyrics are of course accompanied by a pipe (αὐλός, similar to an oboe in sound), and the stage conventions are thus neatly employed for particular dramatic effect.

**576** The MSS give: *ἰὼ ἰὼ πόποι* (with some variations), *ποῖ μ' ἄγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι*; This makes good sense, and possible metre (dochmiac  $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ , hypodochmiac  $-\cup-\cup-$ , dochmiac  $\cup---\cup-$ ; for the hypodochmiac, cf. Dale 114-15, Conomis 31-4; also? 585 = 605): but the antistrophe (595) also gives good sense, with different metre ( $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-|- \cup-|- \cup-|\cup\cup\cup-\cup-|$ , dochm. cr. cr. dochm.). Page's *ποῖ δέ μ' ἄγουσι τηλ-* is neat ( $-\cup\cup-\cup-$  dochmiac), but entails also dropping *τάν* from 595, two changes, albeit minor, for purely metrical reasons. Of the many plausible emendations to either str. or ant., *ποῖ μ' ἄγουσ' αἶδε τηλ-* ( $-\cup- \quad -\cup-$  cr. cr.) is neat (*ἄγουσαι* is in one MS), but Wilamowitz's *τάλαιναν* for *ταλαίπωρον* in 595 is perhaps neater (595n.).

*ἰὼ ἰὼ πόποι*: as often in exclamations, esp. in dochmiacs, the long vowels are scanned short by correction ( $\cup\cup\cup-\cup-$ , cf. 114-19n., Conomis 40-2). Io's words are now barely coherent, cf. 568, 601.

**577-8** Lit. 'having found me sinning in what respect (τι) ever, son of Kronos, did you yoke me in these sufferings?' Io's words echo those of P. (108) *ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαι* (see 108n.): here the yoke is purely metaphorical. *ἁμαρτάνω* (8-9n.), *εὕρισκω* (267n.), and *πημονή* (237, 276, 306, 346, 471, 512, 587, 965, 1000, 1058) are likewise words already rich in associations for P. from earlier in the play (cf. 622-3n.; also 595, 599-601nn.). The *anadiplosis* *τι ποτε ... τι ποτε ...* makes Io's bewilderment and confusion all the more urgent (see 266n.).

**581** *παράκοπον*: most likely, the same metaphor as *ἐξέπληξε* (133-4n.), rather than (as Sikes and Willson suggest) from coinage ('falsely struck').

**582** Io begs Zeus for death, however painful, as release from her mad wanderings.

*πυρί με φλέξον*: *με* is Elmsley's addition; otherwise the scansion *πυρῖ φλέξον* (initial lengthening in 'weak position', Introd. p. 26) would be almost unparalleled in dochmiacs (see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 760, Griffith 50). In any case, the sense is easier with the pronoun. For the sentiment, see 153-5n., 747-50, and Eur. *Supp.* 829ff. *κάτα με πέδον γὰς ἔλοι, | διὰ δὲ θύελλα σπάσαι, | πυρός τε φλογμός ὁ Διὸς ἐν κάραι πέσοι* (also e.g. *Andr.* 847ff., *Soph. Ph.* 797-801). Many of Zeus' enemies were blasted by fire (thunderbolt); Amphiaras was swallowed up in the earth; Andromeda was exposed to be eaten by sea-monsters. But Io's



pleas remind us more of earlier words from P., the description of Typhos burnt to ashes (358ff.) and buried under Aetna (364-5), of the Titans buried in Tartarus (220 καλύπτει, cf. 152-5), and of P. himself torn by the 'jaw' of the spike (64-5), exposed in the wilderness (26n.) near the sea-shore, and later to be food for an eagle. They also strangely foreshadow P.'s defiant challenges of 992-4, 1016-29, 1045, 1080-93; see 1040-53, 1085-6nn.

δοῦς (sc. με) βορὰν 'give me (to the monsters) as food', predicative accusative.

**584-5** 'Don't grudge me my prayers, lord!' For the construction, cf. 626, 859; also 783n.

**585-6** ὄδην... γεγυμνάκασιν: (cf. 592 γυμνάζεται) 'have exercised me to the full' (i.e. in running and jumping, etc.), bitter *meiosis*, or *litotes*, for 'have utterly worn me out'.

**588** κλύεις: addressed to P., like 564 ὀλέκη; σήμνηνον, though the lack of any explicit indication of this transition (from the apostrophe to Zeus, 578-84) is peculiar. The formal question (with reference to self in the 3rd person, see 296-7n.) marks the end of Io's 'outburst' (φθέγμα is used of animals as well as human beings); so again at 608, with a clear verbal echo back to the strophe (ταῖ δυσπλάνωι παρθένωι); see n. on the metre of 128-92. It is surely mistaken to give 588, 608 to the Chorus (as Page suggests, following the MSS), since such mediation between Io and P. is unnecessary and clumsy, and the use of agitated lyrics for the Chorus at this point inappropriate. Mastronarde 115-16 suggests that we should read κλύει in 589, and take both 588 and 589 as still referring to Zeus ('Do you hear...?' 'Of course he hears...', cf. Eur. *Pho.* 611 (Pol.) φάτερ, κλύεις ἃ πάσχω; (Et.) καὶ γὰρ οἱ δρᾷς κλύει, and *El.* 682-4). This removes the awkwardness of Io's switch in addressing P., but spoils the parallelism of 588-9 and 608-9.

βοῦκερὼ παρθένου: according to early literature and art, Io was fully transformed into a cow, as e.g. at Aesch. *Supp.* 299 βοῦν τὴν γυναῖκα ἔθηκεν Ἀργεῖα θεός (= Ἥρα). From the second half of the fifth century, she is often represented as a woman with cow's horns, or cow's head (like Isis in Egypt; the two figures are compared by Hdt. 2.41), perhaps as a result of her introduction onto the stage, here and (possibly) in Soph. *Inachus* (see 561-886n., especially P. Oxy. 2369.32-45 = fr. 269a R,

with Carden's nn.). The same happened with Actaeon as stag (see Pollux 4.141). See further Sutton (561–886n.) 36–8, R. Engelmann, *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 18 (1903) 37–58, Trendall and Webster 148–9.

**589–92** P.'s four-line reply in iambic trimeters (193–6n.) directly answers Io's question (κλύεις; / κλύω, see 128n.), but goes much further in identifying who she is and why she is being tormented. The contrast between the mantic son of Themis and the ignorant mortal is striking.

**589–90** τῆς οἰστροδινήτου: so Aesch. *Supp.* 17 τῆς οἰστροδόου βόος, 573 οἰστροδόνητον Ἴω (also Hom. *Od.* 22.299), and 788 below. This line is highly unusual in having no caesura at all (cf. Maas §103, *Introd.* p. 26).

κόρης | τῆς Ἰναχίας 'the daughter of Inachus' (164b–5n.); for the formal use of patronymic in address, cf. 18.

θάλει: again metaphorical at 650, 685, 878; see 649–50n.

**591–2** Lit. 'And now, hated by Hera, she is violently exercised (on) those (τούς) over-long runnings', i.e. 'forced to run ...', δρόμους retained accusative (171n.). Hera's hatred is, as often, due to jealousy of Zeus' favourite.

**593–5** πόθεν ... εἰπέ ... τίς ... τίς ...: (561–5n.). At 561–4 Io asked who P. was; now, in wonder at his knowledge about her, she repeats the question. N.b. too the echo 565 ἡ μογερά / 594 ταῖ μογεραῖ.

**595** Lit. 'Who then are you ... who (thus) address me so correctly (double accusative) ...?' The MSS read τὰν ταλαίπωρον: Wilamowitz's τὰν τάλαιναν both restores metrical responsion with 576 (see n.) and gives neater balance to the *polyptoton* (τάλας τάλαιναν, see 19n.) though the corruption is hard to explain (perhaps from 623). The similarity of Io's and P.'s positions is thus made explicit.

**596** νόσον: probably simply 'trouble', as again at 606, 632 (249n. and ? 924); but the word suggests too Zeus' *love* (590–1, his lovesick heart is 'inflamed' by Io) and Io's *madness* (cf. 977), both of which are indeed θεόσυτος; also the physical *pain* of the stings, as 597 makes clear. (See further 632n.)

**598** ‘... which withers me up, by stinging me with its wild-roaming barbs’. Again it is not clear whether a physical insect or a mental unrest is meant (566, 567nn.); κέντρον can be literal or metaphorical, while φοιταλέος can be (lit.) ‘roaming’ or (metaph.) ‘distracting’, cf. Eur. *Or.* 327 λύσσας φοιταλέου, Aesch. *Th.* 661 σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν. For the scansion (φοιταλαιοσιν, not noticed by LSJ), cf. Eur. *Or.* 327.

**599–601** σκιρτημάτων (again 675, cf. 1085 σκιρτᾶι, with n.) ‘(outrages consisting) of leaps’, suggesting the movement of a heifer rather than of a human (567n.). For νήσισιν, cf. 573n. (and for the *hypallage*, 358n.). αἰκείαις: previously used to describe P.’s tortures (93n.).

Ἥρας: two syllables are needed for responsion to 581. From 592 Ἥραι στυγητός, and a scholion to 600 (Herington p. 164) δαμασθεῖσα μήδεσι καὶ βουλευμασι τῆς Ἥρας, Hermann supplied Ἥρας. For δαμείσα, cf. 578 ἐνέζευξας and 5n.

**601–3** Rather an odd phrase, perhaps corrupt: ‘And of (all) unfortunates, which ones, oh alas, suffer such things as I?’ Most editors write τίνες οἱ, ἔξ, ... i.e. ‘Which (are there) of unfortunates who suffer ...?’, which is even odder. Nor is τίνες οἱ ... better (‘They are some (children) of unfortunate parents who ...’, cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.127). The metrical responsion of mere exclamations (οἱ ἔξ) to normal words (δὸς βοράν) is also very unusual (Griffith 51–2).

**605** τορῶς τέκμηρον: ‘tell me clearly’, cf. 564, 295n., and 609–12n.

**607–8** δείξον... θράει... φράζε: (56n.) The verbal responsion of 608 to 588 is striking (128–92n.). As Io’s monody comes to an end, and the scene continues in iambic trimeters, perhaps she now moves up onto the stage, closer to P. (571–3n.).

### **609–30: Stichomythia between Io and Prometheus**

P. now explains who he is, and then, in response to Io’s further request, agrees to tell her what lies in store for her. The structure is formal and symmetrical: four lines from P. (609–12, parallel to 589–92 and thus linking the stichomythia closely with the preceding lyrics), then two 9-line sections of stichomythia (613–21, 622–30), each introduced by two

lines from Io in which she supplies the topic for discussion. The careful balance and formalism of the interchange keeps a distance between the characters (cf. 36-87n.), even though they now see one another as friends (611).

**609-12** P.'s four lines (193-6n.) balance his reply at 589-92: there he identified Io, here himself. 609 *τορῶς* picks up 605 *τορῶς* (cf. 589-92n.), and 609-11 prepare for his 'simple' answer in 612. For the 3rd person *Προμηθεῖα* (612), cf. 588, 608, and 296-7n.

*τορῶς* ... *αἰνίγματ'* ... *ἀπλῶι λόγῳ*: (cf. 46, 505nn.). Concern for brevity and clarity of expression and of understanding is constantly emphasized in this play: 604 *τορῶς τέκμηρον*, 609 *λέξω τορῶς*, 699 *προυξεπίστασθαι τορῶς*, 870 *ἐπεξελθεῖν τορῶς*; 102 *προυξεπίσταμαι σκεθρῶς* (cf. 488); 227 *σαφηνιῶ*, 621 *σαφηνίσας*, 641 *σαφεῖ μύθῳ*, 664 *σαφῶς ἐπισκήπτουσα*, 781 *φράσω σαφηνῶς*, 817 *σαφῶς ἐκμάνθανε*, 840, 967 *σαφῶς ἐπίστασο*, 914 *δειῖσαι σαφῶς* (cf. 387, 504); 610 *οὐκ ... αἰνίγματα*, 833 *οὐδέν αἰνικτηρίως*, 949 *μηδέν αἰνικτηρίως*; 46, 610, 975 *ἀπλῶι λόγῳ*; 505 *βραχεῖ μύθῳ*, 870, 875 *μακροῦ λόγου*, 827 *ὄχλον ... ἐκλείψω λόγων*. See too 193-6, 500, 698-704nn., *Introd.* p. 28. Most of the dialogue in this play is occupied with imparting information, and the 'teacher' is constantly concerned to present his 'lesson' as briefly and clearly as possible; cf. 322-4n.

**611** 'Just as one *should* speak to friends,' cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1108 *φίλον πρὸς ἄνδρα χρὴ λέγειν ἐλευθέρως*. P. does not shrink from classing the human Io as a *φίλος* (cf. 10-11n., *Introd.* p. 12), and his tongue is as free and outspoken as ever (180 *ἄγαν δ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖς* with n., 318-19n.).

**612** *ὀρᾷς*: cf. 69, 119nn. The stiff movement of the line, with only a quasi-caesura (*δοτῆρ'*, cf. 710, and *Introd.* p. 26; 6, 113nn.), lends weight to the proud, self-contained statement (contrast the normal rhythm of e.g. 92, 506).

**613** *ὠφέλημα*: (cf. 251n.) here applied to the person of P. himself. In Aristoph. *Knights* 836 (424 B.C.) the clever Sausage-seller is hailed *ὡ καὶ σὺν ἀνθρώποις φανείς μέγιστον ὠφέλημα*, possibly a parody of this line.

**614** 'As penalty for what (crime) are you suffering these things?', see

563–4 with n. It seems that Io is well aware of the benefactions which P. has given mankind (613), but not of Zeus' response to them. Again, the chronology is deliberately vague: the theft of fire would usually be regarded as much earlier than the lives of mortals such as Io (see 254n.).

**615** 'I have only just stopped lamenting my troubles' (i.e. 'Don't ask me to go over them again.').

**616** πόροις ... δωρεάν: echoing words already used to describe P.'s kindness to mankind (111 πόρος, 477 πόρους, 251 ἐδωρήσω, 612 δοτήρα, and later 626 δωρήματος, 631–4n.).

τήνδε 'just this one (gift) ...'.

**618** ὤχμασεν: see 5n.

**619** τὸ Διόν: 'Zeus' as if derived from Διός; see LSJ s.v. διός II (again 654, 1033; cf. too 652 τὸ Ζηνός): contrast 88. (See too *P. Lyomenos* fr. VIII. 6 (= fr. 193 N) with n.) The evidence of the MSS supports μέντοι rather than μὲν τὸ (see Dawe 138–9); but μέντοι is regularly adversative or confirmatory (*GP* 398–9), neither of which senses is possible here, in response to Io's question.

**620–1** Io repeats her question of 563–4 and 614; but the audience has already heard P. talk of this, so here he merely sticks to his agreement of 616–17 (see Mastronarde 83–4): 'I have done enough (ἀρκῶ) by explaining only so much (as I have) to you', cf. Soph. *Ant.* 547 ἀρκέσω θνήσκουσα (*GMT* §899, Smyth §2100). The participle (σαφηνίσας) – the regular construction – seems preferable to σαφηνίσαι of the MSS, though Pind. *O.* 9.5 ἀρκεσε ... ἡγεμονεῦσαι offers a parallel for the infinitive. 621 lacks caesura (σοι being enclitic): again the effect is heavily final (6, 612nn.).

**622–3** Io interrupts the flow of one-line stichomythia to reintroduce her second topic (cf. 605–7, esp. 607/623 δεῖξον), the question of her own release from suffering. Her two lines structurally balance 613–14 (609–30n.).

καὶ... γε 'Yet at least'.

τίμα ... τίς ἔσται ... χρόνος: i.e. how many days or years of wander-

ing she must endure. Io is relying on P.'s inherited powers of prophecy (823–6n.). *τέρμα* again reminds us of P.'s predicament (99 *μόχθων* ... *τέρματα*, 183–4 *πόνων* ... *τέρμα*, 257 *ἄθλου* *τέρμα*, and again 706, 755, 823, 828, 1026); see 99, 577–8nn.

**625** *μή τοί με κρύψῃς τοῦθ'* 'Please (τοί, cf. 436) don't keep this from me' (double accusative, Smyth §1628–9, 171n.).

*μέλλω παθεῖν*: the aorist infinitive after *μέλλω* is rare; Groeneboom *ad loc.* suggests that it implies *δεῖ με παθεῖν* (cf. *χρή* 100, 184), but this is not always the case, e.g. Eur. *Or.* 292, Thuc. 3.92.2, etc.

**626** (See 584–5n.) σοί (Turnebus) is unnecessary; cf. Eur. *HF* 333 οὐ φθονῶ πέπλων = 'I don't grudge (you) clothes.'

**627** *μή οὐ γεγωνίσκειν*: this is the regular construction after a virtual negative prohibition (*τί μέλλεις* = 'nothing is stopping you', cf. 1056 *τί ἐλλείπει* ...); see 787n., *GMT* §815, Smyth §2744.8, and 235–6n.

**629** 'Don't concern yourself further about me, for (this) is what I want', (i.e. to hear the worst). Io thus allays P.'s anxiety of 628, and wins his agreement (630 'Since you are eager...'); compare 785–6 (Ch.) τοῦτο γὰρ ποθῶ. (P.) ἐπεὶ προθυμεῖσθε .... γλυκύ is thus picked up by 630 προθυμῇ and 631 ἡδονῆς (see 631–4n., and n.b. 698 γλυκύ in similar context). Many editors, however, write no comma, and take ὥς as = ἢ ('Don't concern yourself further for me *than* I want') on the dubious support of Plato, *Apol.* 36d οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτι μᾶλλον ... πρέπει οὕτως ὥς ... σιτεῖσθαι ('nothing could be more fitting *than* to be fed...'), where see Adam's n.), and 30a, *Rep.* 526c 1 ἃ γε μείζω πόνον παρέχει ... ὥς τοῦτο (see further Sikes and Willson's n.). Others emend to ἢ ὥς, in unparalleled *synizesis* (328–9n.). Elmsley's μασσόνως ἢ μοί gives an awkward breach of Porson's Bridge (Introd. p. 26); Hermann's ὦν( = τοῦτων ἃ) is rather ponderous. Schol. M 629c Herington (ἐμοί γλυκύ· τὸ ἀκούειν) supports the reading of the MSS; cf. 100 perhaps Aesch. *Supp.* 950 σοὶ μὲν τόδ' ἡδὺ (Hermann).

**630** For the second time in the play (cf. 271–6), P. announces that he is about to foretell the future, only to be interrupted by a third party (263–76, 283nn.); see Mastronarde 92–3.

**631-86: Io's Narrative**

The *koryphaios* now asks to hear from Io about her past troubles before she learns of her future from P. In a long narrative rhesis (640-86), Io describes the events that have brought her here in her present shape.

This section of the Io scene serves not only to maintain suspense about the future, as we wait for P. to begin his prophecies (696ff.), but also to explain in more detail Zeus' role in Io's sufferings.

**631-4** The Chorus' four-line interruption (193-6n.) is neatly structured, to maintain the metaphor of the forthcoming narrative as a *gift* (616 δωρεiάν, 626 δωρήματος) which brings pleasure to the recipient (621 ἀρκῶ, 629 γλυκύ, 630 προθυμῇ): thus in 631 they request that they too (καὶ ἐμοί) be given a share in the pleasure of this gift (μοῖραν ἡδονῆς πόρε): in 632-3 they ask Io (τῆσδε) to tell her story herself (αὐτῆς λεγούσης) for them; and in 634 they return to the point at which they interrupted (630), when P. (σοῦ) was to give Io her lesson (634 διδάσθῃτω, cf. 624 μαθεῖν). The conceit, continued in 635, 683-6, 698-706, 777-89, 821-2, 875-6 (see nn. *ad locc.*), thus runs throughout the Io scene, and in part accounts for the switches from speaker to speaker, and from past to future and back (561-886n.), as all three interlocutors seek to share their troubles and anxieties, and to lighten them with the pleasure of giving and receiving words; see further 777-80, 782-5nn., and Sansone 85-6, P. L. Entralgo, *The therapy of the word* (New Haven 1970).

**632 νόσον:** (596n., 698). There are several suggestions in this play that words can provide a cure or palliative for the 'disease' of suffering or moral debility: 198, 377-8, 436-7, (445-6), 522-5, 533, 637-9, 685-6, 698-9, 777. Of course, the secret words which P. is nursing (522-5) *are* the key to his future and to the ultimate reconciliation between Zeus and P. (cf. 172ff.). Zeus has cut himself off from all communication with P., save through violence administered by his agents: only when relations are restored, as between true φίλοι (192, 611nn, Introd. p. 15) will he acquire the knowledge that he needs. Until then, his agents and friends (Kratos, Ocean, and later Hermes) will be denied the 'gift' or 'cure' of P.'s words.

**634** ‘Let her learn (about) the rest of her sufferings (cf. 683–4, 780) from you (παρὰ σοῦ).’ For the retained accusative, see 171n.

**635** σὸν ἔργον: a colloquial expression, ‘It’s your job ...’ (Stevens 39–40). For the bare vocative, Ἰοῖ, see 144n. and 788.

ταῖσδ’ ... χάριν: cf. 821, and 545–6, 631–4nn. Io can do this favour for the Oceanids, and she will be repaid by P.

**636** ἄλλως τε πάντως καί...: Lit. ‘for all other (reasons) and (because they are) ...’, i.e. ‘especially since ...’ (as e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 726, with Groeneboom’s n.).

κασσιγνήταις πατρός: Inachus, father of Io, is a river-spirit, and therefore son of Ocean (Hes. *Th.* 337); cf. 39n. This link between niece and aunts is not further developed.

**637–9** ‘For (ὥς) to weep and lament one’s misfortunes to the full (ἄπο-), in a situation where one is going to win tears from the listeners, is a worthwhile exercise.’ For the sentiment, cf. Eur. fr. 563 τῷ δὲ δυστυχοῦντι πως | τερπνὸν τὸ λέξει κάποκλαύσασθαι (also fr. 119, fr. 573).

μέλλοι: the optative in a conditional relative clause in primary sequence occurs especially in general statements and *gnomai* (*GMT* §555, Smyth §2573; see Jebb on Soph. *OT* 315).

**640–86** Io’s speech comprises five sections: (i) introduction (640–4), then accounts of (ii) her dreams (645–54), (iii) her father’s reaction and the oracle (655–68), (iv) the start of her tormented wandering (669–82), and (v) conclusion (683–6). The transition to each section is neatly marked: 645 γάρ, 655 τοιοῖσδε, 669 τοιοῖσδε, 683 κλύεις τὰ πραχθέντα (cf. 193–6, 681–6nn.).

**640** ‘... how it could be right for me to disobey you,’ (LSJ s.v. ἀπιστέω ii). The line has no proper caesura (see *Introd.* p. 26, 6n.).

**641–2** For the rhetorical preamble, see 609–12 with n.

καίτοι ... ὀδύρομαι ‘and yet I weep even to talk about ...’, (101–3, 197–8nn.). αἰσχύνομαι, found in three MSS (and as a γράφεται variant in several more), is adopted by most modern editors: but Io’s misery and



pain are more relevant than her sense of embarrassment, and *ὀδύρομαι* should be retained (cf. 637).

**643** *θεόσσυτον χειμῶνα*: the metaphor of the 'storm' of troubles recurs at 746, 886, 1001, 1015; see too 563, 965nn. *θεόσσυτον* (cf. 116, 597) is so spelled here for metrical convenience (90n.).

**643-4** *διαφθοράν | μορφῆς, ὅθεν ... προσέπτατο*: (*prolepsis*, 473-5n.) 'whence came this sudden terrible change in my appearance'. For *προσέπτατο*, see 115n.

**645-7** *γάρ* marks the start of her whole explanation, not merely the source of her change of shape.

*ὄψεις ἔννοχοι*: 'nocturnal visions' (i.e. dreams and divine visitations) were traditionally regarded as the main channel through which the gods communicated with ordinary (i.e. non-mantic) humans; cf. 485-6, and 648-9n. For the Ionic form *πωλεύμεναι*, see 122n.

*παρηγόρουν* (sc. *με*) | *λείοισι μύθοις* 'kept on addressing me with soft words'. Zeus' first approaches were gentle enough, but they would nevertheless be very disturbing to any young virgin (cf. 133-4n.), especially if she were not sure if the dreams were 'true' or 'false'.

*μέγ'* 'very', internal ('adverbial') accusative, as 1004 *τὸν μέγα στυγούμενον* (= 'much-hated').

**647-54** The dream-utterance is so articulated, through enjambement, that the 7½-line period contains no coincidence of line-end with rhetorical pause until 653 (comma): thus the listener is led on to the final resolution of sense and sound in 654. (Cf. 673-9, 717-28, 732-8, 790-7, and, to a lesser degree, 103-5 with n., 298-303.) The effect is heightened by the unusual device of starting the reported speech in mid-line.

**648-9** 'Why remain a virgin so long, when you have the chance to enjoy the greatest union of all?' *γάμος* need not (and here clearly cannot) formally involve marriage though cf. 834-5, 890ff., 909.

*τί παρθενύηι δαρόν*: an echo of Hom. *Od.* 6.33 (Athena to Nausicaa, also in a nocturnal visitation) *οὐ τοι ἔτι δῆν* (= *δηρόν*, cf. 60-1n.) *πάρθενος ἔσσειαι*.

Note the word-order, with *μεγίστου* delayed (in enjambement and

*hyperbaton*) for emphasis (cf. 739–40 πικροῦ ... μνηστήρος, with n.), and for striking juxtaposition with Ζεὺς.

**649–50** ‘Zeus has been inflamed by a shaft of desire’, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1084–6 ἀφῆκα ... καρδίας τοξεύματα | βέβαια, τῶν σὺ θάλπος οὐχ ὕπεκ-δραμῆι. The ‘heat’ of love is like that of an inflamed wound (cf. 590, 377–80; also 878–9n.); for lovers’ ‘wounds’ (especially from ‘shafts’ from the eyes), cf. 654, 903, and Thomson on 590–1 (= his 614–15), Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 525–6 and 530–4.

συναίρεσθαι Κύπριν: dignified periphrasis and euphemism for sexual intercourse.

**651** μὴ ‘πολακτίσης: ‘don’t spurn ...’, a prejudicial term for Io’s decision to remain a virgin. The effect is perhaps enhanced by the rough alliteration (λακ-, λεχ-) and *aphaeresis* (740–1n.).

**652–3** Λέρνης βαθὺν | λειμῶνα: Lerna, about five miles south of Argos, is a marshy area by the sea; hence its ‘deep’ (i.e. thickly-grassed) meadows (cf. 676–7n.). But ‘grassy meadows’ are conventionally symbolic of sexual encounters (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 14.346ff., Archil. fr. 196a. 23–4 West = *SLG* 478 Page; cf. J. Henderson, *Arethusa* 9 (1976) 165–7, A. Motte, *Les prairies et jardins* (Brussels 1973)).

**653** πρὸς governs ποιμένας βουστάσεις τε, with πατρός taking the place of an adjective (e.g. πατρώιους); cf. 66n. and e.g. Eur. *Pho.* 24 λειμῶν’ ἐς Ἴθρας.

**654** τὸ Διὸν δμμα: cf. 619, 649–50n. The whole line echoes 376 ἐστ’ ἄν Διὸς φρόνημα λωφήσῃ χόλου: πόθος and χόλος (lust and a hot temper) are both characteristic of young tyrants (G. Thomson, *C.R.* 43 (1929) 3–5). (For ὥς ἄν + subjunctive, see 10n.). The final clause, neatly rounding off the dream-utterance (647–54n.), offers no further justification for Zeus’ behaviour beyond mere appetite: but Greek mythology is full of beautiful maidens who, whether voluntarily or not, submit to a god’s desires. Those who resist often suffer for it (e.g. Cassandra, Aesch. *Ag.* 1202–12).

**656** ἔστε δὴ ‘until finally ...’ cf. 457.

**657** For parallels to the slightly clumsy repetition 655 *ὄνειρασι* / 657 *ὄνειρατα* at line-end, cf. Schinkel 6–18; there is no need to emend (as e.g. Nauck *δείματα*, after Lycophron 225 *νυκτίφοιτα δείματα*). *νυκτίφαντα* is possible, but the MSS support for *νυκτίφοιτα* is stronger.

**658–9** *ἔς τε Πυθῶ καὶ ἐπὶ Δωδώνης*: the Pythian oracle of Apollo at Delphi, and the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, in W. Thessaly (for the latter, see 829–32n.). The genitive with *ἐπὶ* regularly means ‘in the direction of’: Page adopts the more straightforward variant *Δωδώνην*, but the presence of the genitive in most MSS is then hard to explain (see Dawe 66–7). The relative distances from Argos to Delphi (50 miles) and Dodona (200 miles) may account for the change of construction (*ἔς ... ἐπὶ ...*): in effect, ‘He sent many to Delphi, and others (set off) for Dodona’, (n.b. imperfect *ἔαλλον*). (From 669 we learn that the only useful answer eventually came from Delphi.) But the change may be due merely to desire for variation (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 311, Thuc. 1.63).

**659–60** ‘To find out what (he) must do or say to satisfy the gods’, cf. 533n. and Hdt. 1.158 *πέμπαντες ... θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν ... ὀκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι* (also Soph. *OT* 70, Aesch. *Cho.* 316). (On *δράω* as ‘perform (a sacrifice)’, cf. N. J. Richardson’s n. on *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 476. For the word/deed antithesis, cf. 335–6n.)

**663** *ἐναργῆς βᾶξις*: ‘a clear pronouncement’, expanded in 664; so too the ‘shifting’ (*αἰολοστόμους*) oracles of 661 were more fully described in 662. (See too 832–5.)

**665–6** ‘(telling him) to thrust me out of home and country, to wander at large by the furthest boundaries of the earth’. *ἄφετος*, often used of sacred animals roaming in a temple precinct, is appropriate here for Io, priestess of Hera, but soon to become a cow.

*ἄλσθαι*: infinitive of purpose (*GMT* §770, Smyth §2008).

*ἐκ’ ἐσχάτους ὄροις*: cf. 1–2, 418, 846; also 807–8 with n.

**667–8** *καὶ μὴ θέλοι* ‘and if he should refuse, (it said) that ...’, still following *μυθουμένη*. *μολεῖν* (aorist with future sense) is unusual, but paralleled e.g. at Aesch. *Th.* 367 *ἐλπὶς ἐστὶ ... μολεῖν* (see Denniston–Page on Aesch. *Ag.* 674ff., *GMT* §127). There is therefore no

need to introduce *ἄν* (Elmsley, Sikes and Willson), or to omit *καί* and take *μολεῖν* with *θέλοι* ('if he didn't want the thunderbolt to come'), which is rather feeble.

*πάν* *ἐξαιστώσει* *γένος*: echoing 232–3 *ἀιστώσας* *γένος* | *τὸ πάν* (cf. 152n.). No suggestion has been made that Io or Inachus was guilty of any wrongdoing so as to merit this fate. In Soph. *Inachus* (fr. 262, 264, cf. fr. 253 N = 286, 284, 275 R) Zeus may have blighted the land (cf. Sutton (561–886n.) 63–6, 70–1). (The optative *ἐξαιστώσοι* would be possible, but not necessary, as the 'vivid' construction with the future indicative is equally regular.)

**669–82** In this account, Io holds Zeus wholly responsible for the brutal disruption of her family and for her present miseries. Hera's role, which in most versions of the myth is very prominent, is here ignored (contrast 592, 600, 703–4n.). The story is told as if the main details are already well known (esp. 677–82).

**669** *τοιοῖσδε*: (655, 640–86n.) *Loxias* = Apollo, cf. 658–9n.

**671–2** *ἄκουσαν ἄκων*: see 19n.

*ἐπηνέγκασε ... χαλινός*: cf. 562, and 5, 108nn.

*πρὸς βίαν*: i.e. 'in violation of his will', cf. 353, 592, and e.g. Aesch. *Eum.* 5 ... *θελούσης, οὐδὲ πρὸς βίαν τινός*; contrast 207–8n.

**673–5** *μορφή καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι* 'appearance and mind (were) distorted'; again physical and mental symptoms are subtly confused (567, 848–51nn.; also 133–4n.). For 675, see 566, 599–601nn., and Sansone 75–6.

**676–7** *Κερχνεῖας μέος* | *Λέρνης τε κρήνην*: according to Pausanias (2.24.7), Cerchne (or Cenchreae) was a village south-west of Argos, i.e. not far from the springs which produced the Lernaean marsh (652–3n.). *Λέρνης ἄκρην τε* (in most MSS) is nonsense (Attic would be *ἄκραν*, Lerna has no 'hill-top', *τε* is misplaced). The most likely alternatives are *ἀκτὴν* (*Λέρνης τ' ἐς ἀκτὴν*) or *κρήνην* (cf. Pind. *O.* 7.33 *Λερναίας ἀπ' ἀκτῆς*, with schol.: *ἡ γὰρ Λέρνη κατὰ μὲν τινὰς κρήνην, κατὰ δέ τινὰς λοχμῶδες χωρίον*). *κρήνην* accounts for the corruption more easily, from haplography *τε κρην*, 'corrected' to the metrically superior *ἄκρην τε*.

**677–9** Io does not say who sent Argus to act as ‘cowherd’: presumably it was Hera, to keep Zeus from approaching as a bull. With eyes all over his body, Argus was a popular subject of vase paintings, usually in the process of being lulled to sleep and killed by Hermes. (On γηγενής, see 568 and 351–2n.)

ἄκρατος ὀργήν ‘intemperate of character’ (80n.), perhaps a punning etymology (ἄ-οργ-ος).

**680** The MSS give ἀπροσδόκητος δ’ αὐτὸν αἰφνίδιος μόρος, with impossible metre and an awkward doublet of adjectives without connective. Porson’s transposition is a simple correction (αἰφνίδιος αὐτόν, giving ◡—◡—|—◡◡◡|—◡—); so is the adverbial ἀπροσδοκῆτως, avoiding the doubled adjectives. Of alternatives, Elmsley’s ἀφνίδιος gives an unattested form (though cf. ἄφνω, and Hesychius s.v. ἀφνίδια) and resolution in weak position (ἄφν-, cf. 2n.). Better would be Headlam’s ἄπερος (from Hesych. s.v. ἄπερος· προσηνής, ταχύς, αἰφνίδιος; see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 276).

**680–1** A curiously brief and allusive description of Argus’ death, relying on the audience’s prior knowledge of the story (561–886, 567nn.). The regular version has Hermes charm him to sleep with music, and then cut off his head: thereupon Hera sends the gadfly to harass Io further.

**681–6** Io rounds off her account with a statement of her present predicament (681–2), which echoes her opening words (561 γῆ, 566 οἶστρος). She then adds a four-line conclusion (with transition 683–6, cf. 193–6n.) addressed to P. (n.b. singular κλύεις, ἔχεις, as opposed to 674 ὀρᾶτε), bringing the dialogue back to the agreement made at 634 (see 640–86n.).

**682** μάστιγι θείαι: a metaphorical phrase as old as Homer (*Il.* 12.27 Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες = ‘defeated by Zeus’ intervention’, cf. 13.812), later used e.g. of disease (as English ‘scourge’); cf. 692 κέντρῳ, *Introd.* p. 20.

γῆν πρὸ γῆς ‘from land to land’ (as if ‘exchanging’ one land for another), a common idiom, e.g. Aristoph. *Ach.* 235 with Blaydes’ n., and even Cicero, *Ad Att.* 14.10.1; cf. too Hes. *Th.* 742 πρὸ θύελλα θυέλλης, with West’s n.

**684-5** 'Don't, out of pity, try to cheer me up with lies'; for ξύνθαλπε, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 478 κεναῖσιν ἐλπίσιν θερμαίνεται, and 589-90n.

**685-6** νόσημα ... συνθέτους λόγους: the *gnome* makes a resounding conclusion to Io's speech, and responds to P.'s statement of 609-11 (296-7n.). For the image of disease, see 225, 384, 1068, and 632n.; for 'synthetic' (= 'false') words, cf. 1030 πεπλασμένος, and Eur. *Ba.* 297 συνθέντες λόγον.

### 687-95: Short Choral Song

The Chorus burst into characteristic expressions of dismay and fear at what they have seen and heard from Io. The lyrics are astrophic, and not really substantial enough to count as a stasimon (cf. e.g. Aesch. *Cho.* 152-63): they do not mark any real division between Episodes (Taplin 51-5); but they provide effective relief from the long iambic rheseis of 640-876, and give voice to the horror and sympathy which the audience must by now feel.

#### *Metre*

687	ἔα ἔα· ἀπεχε, φευ.	iambic, cretic
688	οὐποθ' ᾧδ' οὐποτ' ἦν χούν ξενούς	3 cretics
689	μολεισθαὶ λόγους   ἐς ἄκοαν ἔμαν	2 dochmiacs
690	οὐδ' ᾧδε δυσθεατὰ καὶ δυσοίστα	2 iambics + bacchiac
691	πημάτ' αὖ λυμάτων (αὖ δειμάτων)	?
692	ἀμφὴ κεί κέντρῳ ψυχὴν ψυχὰν ἔμαν.	?
694	ἴω ἴω μοῖρα μοῖρα,	cretic + trochaic
695	πέφρικ' εἰσίδουσα πρᾶξιν Ἴους.	bacchiac + iambic + bacchiac

Mostly syncopated iambics, with a few dochmiacs (689, 691-2?). The analysis of 691-2 is very difficult: as they stand, the lines present us



metaphorical meaning is 'disgrace, defilement' (as at Soph. *OC* 805), but cf. Eur. *Tro.* 591, where Hector is λῦμ' Ἀχαιῶν ('destroyer of the Greeks').

ἀμφηκεῖ κέντροι: the κέντρον was a two-pronged (1043-4n.) stick for driving horses or oxen (cf. 323, 682, and Soph. *OT* 809).

695 • 'I shudder to see Io's plight,' cf. 144-8, 181-2, and 540 φρίσσω . . . δερκομένα . . . For πρᾶξιν, see Jebb on Soph. *OC* 560-1.

### 696-741 Prometheus' First Narrative (Io's Future Wanderings)

P. begins to tell Io of her future wanderings, from where she is now (in the extreme north-west) eastwards through Scythia, then south to the Caucasus, and across the Cimmerian Bosphorus into Asia. At this point (735) he pauses to hear her reaction.

This section (like 790-815) describes a journey through the remotest areas that the Greeks had heard of. We cannot be sure where some of the places named should be located, and it seems that the poet himself has only a vague idea of the route which Io follows. Hecataeus (c. 500 B.C.) had produced a map of the inhabited world, together with a written description of Europe and Asia; this and the travellers' accounts of particular regions and local customs, gave only hazy and unreliable information about the most distant areas. Even fifty or seventy years later, Herodotus is far from trustworthy on the geography of N. and W. Europe, and at 4.16 he acknowledges how little is known about Scythia. The map on p. vi is no more than a tentative sketch of what the poet may have had in mind. (See further J. O. Thomson, *History of ancient geography*, E. H. Bunbury, *A history of ancient geography* 149ff., J. L. Myres, *C.R.* 60 (1946) 2-4, Wilamowitz, *Aisch. Interpr.* 151ff, Bolton 46-70.).

It is only possible to make sense of Io's travels in Europe if we accept that the poet is guilty of at least three major misconceptions in his geography. (i) The Chalybes (714-15) are placed just to the east, or north-east, of the 'nomad Scythians', i.e. far to the north or north-west of the Black Sea: in fact, they lived on its southern coast. (ii) The Caucasus mountains are apparently placed to the north-west of the Black Sea (719-21), whereas they are in fact to the east. (iii) Themiscyra (about 500 miles east of Byzantium) and Salmydessus



(about 50 miles north-west of Byzantium) are said to be in the same area (724-6).

In Aesch. *Supp.* 540-64, Io's course is straightforward and clear: over the Thracian Bosphorus into Asia Minor (Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Cilicia, Pamphylia), and down into Egypt. But in *Prom.*, we have perhaps a deliberate revision of this account for exotic effect, with the rival (Cimmerian) Bosphorus employed in the *aition* (732-4n.). Several scholars have concluded that the author is making no effort to be accurate ('delirious poetic geography', Thomson, *History* 82, cf. Bunbury 149-50); yet it is noticeable that the European stages of Io's journey (707-35) are much more detailed, and less fabulous in tone, than the Asian (790-815), and the fact that mistakes are made does not necessarily mean that no attempt is being made to be correct. Some of our uncertainties might be resolved if we knew more about Aristeas of Proconessus, a mysterious figure of the seventh century B.C., who was supposed to have travelled, with Apollo's help, to hitherto unexplored regions of the far north (whether in person, or in spirit alone, is not clear), and to have recorded his adventures in a hexameter poem, *Arismaspeia*, which has almost certainly influenced the account of those parts in *Prom.* (790-815n.); see Hdt. 4.13-5, Pindar fr. 271, Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 23, and Bolton *passim*, Dodds 141 and n. 3.

**696-7** 'It is too soon for you to be lamenting and full of fear.' στενάζεις refers to the whole lyric outburst of the Chorus, and φόβος picks up δείματα, πέφρικα. For τις, cf. Soph. *Ph.* 519 ὄρα σὺ μὴ νῦν μὲν τις εὐχερὴς παρῆς, where Jebb suggests 'tis gives a slightly contemptuous tone'.

**698** λέγ'. ἐκδίδασκε: see 56n.

**698-704** The Chorus' *gnome* (698-9, marked by τοι as at 39; cf. 275) echoes 629 γλυκύ, 632 νόσον, 634 τὰ λοιπά (cf. 632n.). N.b. further 698 ἐκδίδασκε / 634 διδαχθήτω, 700 ἐμοῦ πάρα / 634 σοῦ ... πάρα, 701 ἐχρήζετε / 641 προσχρήζετε, 701-2 τῆσδε ... ἄθλον ἐξηγουμένης / 633-4 αὐτῆς λεγούσης ... ἄθλων, 703 τὰ λοιπά ... ἀκούσατε / 630 ἄκουε, 634 τὰ λοιπά. Though some of these echoes could be accidental, there is some point to them, in that we are reminded of the twofold promise (700 χρεῖαν) made in 631-9, to satisfy both the Chorus and Io: now in 703-6, P. manages to combine both their interests (631-4, 735-41nn.).

**701-2** **κούφος**: 'with no difficulty' (whether for P., since Io told the story, or for the Chorus, who had little trouble persuading her). 'For you wanted first to learn from her as she recounted her own ordeal', cf. 632-3.

**703-4** **χρή**: vaguely impersonal, (516, 772nn.). These things 'must' happen, and it is not clear whether Zeus and Hera are the ultimate authors of Io's fate.

**πρὸς Ἡρας**: (92n.) This is the first time since 592 (and perhaps 600), that responsibility for Io's sufferings has been placed with Hera, rather than with Zeus (669-82n.). But, in any case, it was Zeus' lust which first aroused Hera's jealous anger.

**705-6** **σύ... θυμῷ βάλ'** 'take to heart', cf. **σύ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆισι** (Hom. *Il.* 1.297, etc., LSJ s.v. βάλλω A II 6, and Sansone 54-7; also 789n.). For the dative **θυμῷ**, without the usual preposition (**εἰς** or **ἐν**), see Soph. *Ph.* 67 with Jebb's n. With these two lines, P. completes his 7-line preamble (700-6), which is matched by a 6½-line conclusion (735-41n.).

**707** **ἀντολάς**: the regular poetic form, and metrically preferable to **ἀνατολάς**, since resolution at this point in the trimeter is very rare (Introd. p. 25); cf. 457, 791, and 521n. The 'risings of the sun' here apparently denote south-east, not due east (714-15n.).

**708** **στρέψασα σαυτήν**: Io has travelled north to reach P.: now she must turn east.

**στεῖχ'... γύας**: for the direct accusative after a verb of motion cf. 709, 717, 724, 730, 735, 808, 962 (and *P. Lyomenos* fr. XII = fr. 196 N); further Griffith 195. The acres are 'unploughed' because she is starting out from an **ἄβροτος ἐρημία** (2), and the first people she will meet are nomads (709); see 2n.

**709-11** The phraseology of 707-9 is reminiscent of Hom. *Od.* 12.39 **Σειρήνας μὲν πρῶτον ἀφίξει**..., and the exotic mood is enhanced by the bizarre description of 'nomad Scythians, who live up in the air, in wicker houses (resting) on wheeled wagons'. The Scythians are similarly described at Hippocr. *De aere* 18 (... **ἐν ἀμάξησι οἰκεῦσι**), also Pindar fr.

105b, Hdt. 4.46 (and 4.19, placing them near Lake Maeotis). Hesiod (fr. 151 M-W) talks of Γλακτοφάγων ἐς γαῖαν ἀπήνας οἴκι' ἐχόντων.

**709ff.** The pattern, 'You will come to ...', usually followed by a relative clause, 'whom you must not approach; for they are ...' (*vel sim.*) is repeated with variations, at 709-11, 714-16, 717-18, 723-8, 730-1, (and later at 792-7, 798-800, 803-7, 807-10, 810-15). The unbroken succession of places and sights is thus narrated with a simplicity and repetitiveness characteristic of folk-tale or didactic catalogue, and suitable here for the cumulative and exhausting effect of Io's wanderings, and for their exotic and fabulous nature. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.39ff.

**712-13** πελάζειν...ἐκπερᾶν: jussive infinitives (*GMT* §784, Smyth §2013): 'Do not approach them, but pass through their land keeping your feet near the sea-sounding shore.' The reading of the MSS, γύποδας, is nonsense; either it arose from a gloss πόδας written over γυῖα, in which case Hermann's γυῖ' ἀλιστόνοις should be read, or γυ- simply intruded from 708. The prosody χρίμπουσαῖ ραχίαισιν (short before initial ρ-) is highly irregular: the only sure parallel in tragic dialogue is 992 πρὸς ταῦτ' ῥιπτέσθω (89n., Griffith 81-2); contrast 1023 μέγα ῥάκος, with n.

**714-15** λαῖξ ... χειρὸς: 'on your left hand', local genitive, i.e. partitive, like that of *time within which* (Smyth §1444-9, cf. Jebb on Soph. *El.* 900). Some commentators argue that, if the Chalybes are to her left, then the shore which she is skirting (712-13) must be on her right, in which case it is the Black Sea, not Ocean. But her arrival there, from the far north-west, would be very sudden, and it is better to see 712-13 as referring to Ocean (on her left), with 714-15 representing a turn southwards, even though no indication of such a turn is given. Others suggest a lacuna (and see App. p. 297, fr. x1n.).

Χάλυβες: traditionally known as skilled workers of steel (hence χάλυψ = 'steel', e.g. at 133), the Chalybes lived (according to Hdt. 1.28, Hecataeus *FGH* 1 F 203, Xen. *Anab.* 4.6.5, 4.5.34, Strabo 11.14.5) around the south shore of the Black Sea; but here they are placed in northern Scythia (so Hesychius s.v. Χάλυβοι ἔθνος τῆς Σκυθίας, οὗ σίδηρος γίνεται, and schol. to Ap. Rhod. 1.1321, 2.375). The confusion may have arisen from the association of Scythia with steel (cf. 301,

Aesch. *Th.* 728; also Bolton 47-9). (It is perhaps quibbling to ask how long the Chalybes have been working with iron, cf. 254, 500-3nn.)

This is the only time in *Prom.* that resolution occurs at this point in the trimeter (x - υ υ υ). The narrative passages 707-35, 790-869, contain a higher rate of resolutions than the rest of the play (709 νομάδας, 715 Χάλυβες, 717 ποταμόν, 720 ποταμός, 721 κροτάφων, 722 κορυφάς, 729 στενοπόροις, 730 Κιμμερικών, 735 Ἀσιάδα, 788, 793, 796, 805, 809, 811, 840, 847, 849, 851, 869). Several of them occur in proper names or as a result of unusual contexts.

**717** There is no ancient testimony to a River Hybristes. The scholiast (τὸν Ἀράξην, παρὰ τὸ ἀράσσειν καὶ ἡγεῖν τὰ κύματα αὐτοῦ, cf. Eustath. on Dionys. Perieg. 739) clearly took ὕβριστήν simply as an epithet, and conjectured that the River Araxes was meant (unless the name Ἀράξην stood in a next line, now lost). But the Araxes, to the east of the Black Sea and south of the Caucasus, is out of place here to the north-west (unless it has been misplaced together with the Caucasus itself, cf. 719-21n.), and it is safer to assume that the 'River Outrager' is specially invented, or is a fabulous name taken from travellers' tales. At Hdt. 1.189 Cyrus blames the R. Gyndes for 'acting outrageously' (ὕβρισαντι).

**718** περάσῃς... περᾶν: see 19n., and 333 οὐ πείσεις νιν' οὐ γὰρ εὐπιθής.

**719-21** πρὸς αὐτὸν Καύκασον: since Io is still in Europe at this point (cf. 734), and has not yet crossed Lake Maeotis on her journey east (730-1), the Caucasus must here be envisaged as lying to the north or north-west of the Black Sea (i.e. where the fabled 'Rhipaeian mountains' were thought to extend, sometimes called 'Caucasus', cf. Dionys. Perieg. 663ff., Bolton 39-42, 50-4). Io, on her way east, will come to the R. Hybristes, which flows from the Caucasus (northwards into Ocean, or south into the Black Sea? See Map); she must follow it along its west bank up to its source (720-1), cross over the Caucasus (721-2) and continue (or turn?) southwards (722-3) towards the Black Sea. 'Until you come to the heart of (αὐτόν) the Caucasus, where the river pours forth its strength from the topmost (αὐτῶν) slopes' (lit. 'temples, brows' of the mountain's head). For the uses of αὐτός, cf. 361, 729, 847.

It has been suggested (Bolton 54-5) that four lines quoted by Galen as being from *P. Desmotes*, but not found in our MSS, should be inserted

after 720. The lines are normally assigned to *P. Lyomenos*, (see App. p. 297, fr. xi). Formally and grammatically the lines do not fit badly, except for τήνδε, whose reference would be obscure; but a more severe objection is that they involve Io's going *north* up the R. Hybristes.

**722** ὑπερβάλλουσιν 'as (you) cross over'. The aorist (ὑπερβαλοῦσαν) would be more natural (and is suggested by the reading of two MSS), whether as 'coincidental' aorist (see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 289-92) or simply 'after crossing'; but the present is quite possible.

**723-5** The Amazons are here placed just south of the Caucasus. At 415-16 they were described as 'inhabitants of Colchis', and it seems that the poet is at least consistent, if mistaken, in placing both Colchis and the Caucasus to the north of the Black Sea, instead of the east (Bolton 60). He takes care to reconcile two conflicting traditions about the Amazons, one placing them around Themiscyra and the R. Thermodon, on the south coast of the Black Sea c. 500 miles east of Byzantium (so Hdt. 3.110, Strabo 11.5.4, Bacchyl. 8.32, Apollod. 2.4.8, etc.), the other placing them in Scythia (so Ephorus, see Bolton 50-1): here it is explained that they now live in Scythia, but will later (ποτε, cf. 367) migrate to found Themiscyra. This little piece of sophistry (reversed by Herodotus and Strabo) may have more than merely pedantic point, if mention was made in *P. Lyomenos* of Heracles' battle with the Amazons - in Themiscyra (see Thomson ed. 27-8, and 728n.).

In Homer, the Amazons are ἀντιάνειραι (*Il.* 3.189, 6.186), i.e. 'equal to men (in battle)': but here, as in Aesch. *Supp.* 287 τὰς ἀνάνδρους ... Ἀμαζόνες, they are 'men-haters', (see Aristarchus *apud* Hesychius s.v. ἀντιάνειραι).

**725-7** Ἰνα ... Σαλμυδησσία γνάθος (sc. ἐστίν) 'where the rough promontory (lit. 'chin, jaw of the sea' cf. 64) of Salmydessus (is)'. In fact, Salmydessus is in Thrace, 70 miles north-west of Byzantium, and thus nearly 600 miles from Themiscyra.

ναύησι: the old Attic form of the dative plural, cf. 355n. and Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 101; also Groeneboom on Aesch. *Th.* 460.

μητροὶά νεῶν: step-mothers were proverbially cruel (e.g. Hes. *WD* 825). For the perils of the coast around Salmydessus, for ships entering the Black Sea, see Xen. *Anab.* 7.5.12.

**728** καὶ μάλ' ἄσμενως 'and most eagerly too', cf. 23. The Amazons hate men (724), and will therefore feel sympathetic to Io as she suffers for her rejection of Zeus (cf. 898). They will be less friendly to Heracles (Apollod. 2.5.9), cf. 723-5n., and App. p. 298.

**729-30** λίμνης: i.e. Lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov), which the Greeks, even as late as Herodotus, believed to be almost as big as the Black Sea. The 'Cimmerian isthmus' is the Crimea. This resolution, in the first metron after long *anceps* (730 — ∪ ∪ ∪ —), is not found again in this play (see Introd. p. 25, 714-15n.).

**730-1** 'Leaving it (δν = the isthmus) behind, you must bravely cross the Maeotic strait (lit. 'trench')', i.e. the narrow channel connecting the Black Sea to Lake Maeotis (= the Cimmerian Bosphorus, cf. 733).

**732-4** The Greeks derived the name Βόσπορος ('Oxford') from βοός πόρος (n.b. 733 πορείας, and cf. 840n.) — perhaps falsely, since \*Βούσπορος would be expected. There were two straits known as Bosphorus: one by Byzantium, at the south-west entrance to the Black Sea (Thracian B.), the other connecting the Black Sea with Lake Maeotis (Cimmerian B.). Most versions of the Io story have her crossing the more familiar Thracian Bosphorus (as at Aesch. *Supp.* 544-5), but here once again the tradition is being altered or 'corrected' (496-9, 723-5nn.).

**734-5** The boundary between Europe and Asia was defined by many as being the Cimmerian Bosphorus plus the R. Tanais (Don); (so Arrian's testimony on frs. v, vii = 190, 191 N), Hecataeus, *FGH* 1 F 195, Lycophr. 1288 with Tzetzes' n., Hyginus, *Poet. astr.* 8); but Herodotus specifies the R. Phasis (4.45). Here and at 790 (ρεῖθρον ἡπείρων ὄρον) the first is apparently meant, but in *P. Lyomenos* fr. vii (= 191 N), the Phasis is called Εὐρώπης . . . ἡδ' Ἀσίας τέρμνα. Either the two passages contradict each other, or the two rivers have been combined or confused. See Map, and fr. vii n.; further Thomson (696-741n.) 59-60, Bunbury (696-741n.) 146-8, 160-6 with Plates II and III, Bolton 55-9.

**735-41** With the mention of Ἀσιάδα, P. breaks off his account (which is resumed at 790ff.), to ask the Chorus (735 ὑμῖν δοκεῖ) and Io (739 ὦ

κόρη . . . ) about their reactions, just as at 700-6 he had announced his intention of satisfying both with his predictions (631-4n.).

**735** ἀρ' . . . δοκεῖ 'Doesn't (he) seem . . . ?', equivalent to ἀρ' οὐ.

**736-7** τύραννος . . . βίαιος: cf. 10, 222, 224, 305, 310, 357 (and later 756, 761, 909, 942, 957, 996). Zeus' rule, based on force, is characterized by violence (737 βίαιος), lawlessness (150n.), treachery (225n.), and lechery (737-40), all the traditional qualities of the 'bad tyrant'; see 10n., Introd. p. 7.

θνητῇ θεός: (10-11n.) Zeus' appetites involve him even with the lowest of his subjects (cf. 890ff.).

**738** ἐπέρριπεν: cf. ῥίπτω, ῥιπή of Zeus' violent treatment of P. (1089-90n.), but also 311-12n.

**739** πικροῦ . . . μνηστήρος 'painful, hateful suitor', almost a parody of the *hyperbaton* and phraseology of 648-9 γάμου . . . μεγίστου.

**740-1** '(You should) realize that the account you have just heard does not even rank as (lit. 'is not even among') the prelude(s) for you', a metaphor taken from music, where a προοίμιον introduced the main νόμος (= 'melody'). The metaphor is popular with Aeschylus, Euripides, and rhetoricians. (See too 801?) For the *aphaeresis* (or prodelision) 'ν, cf. 80, 440, 651, 773; but it is very rare to find ἐν so prodelided except after μή, ἥ, κτλ. (see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 431, but also perhaps Eur. *Pho.* 21 ἡδονῇ 'νδοῦς (Markland), *Supp.* 69 ταλαίνει 'ν χερὶ (Wilamowitz)); cf. M. Platnauer, *C.Q.* 10 (1960) 140-4.

### **742-81: Stichomythia between Io and Prometheus**

Io and the Chorus react to P.'s account with dismay (742-51), but P. reminds them that his own situation is no better (752-6). The ensuing stichomythia between Io and P. begins to explore the possibility of Zeus' fall from power (757-70), and thus leads, through the discussion of P.'s possible release (770-1), to the prediction that a descendant of Io will eventually free him (772-5). At this point, when the special link be-

tween Io and P. has at last been established, and when curiosity concerning the threat to Zeus has been sharpened, the Chorus again interrupt before P. can continue (782-5, cf. 630n.).

After five lines of excited reaction to the preceding rhesis (742-6), five lines each from Io and P. introduce the longest passage of single-line stichomythia in the play (757-79). The formal symmetry and restraint contribute to the growing tension concerning the future (see 609-30n.).

**743-4** P. 10 Io almost repeats his words to the Chorus of 696-7: hence  $\sigma\upsilon\delta'$  αὖ, 'You *too* . . .', (67n.). Thomson suggests that 742 should be given to the Chorus (αὖ = 'again', cf. 687ff.); but after 739  $\omega$  κόρη, 741 σοι, this is unlikely.

**745** 'What? Do you mean there is still something else left for her to suffer?' ἡ γάρ signifies surprise, cf. 757, 974 (*GP* 284-5).

**746** δυσχείμερον . . . πέλαγος: the 'sea of troubles' is almost a cliché in tragedy, e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 470 αἴτης . . . πέλαγος, *Pers.* 433, Eur. *Hipp.* 822 κακῶν . . . πέλαγος, etc. (see too 149, 563, 643nn. and 886). δυσχείμερος is used in literal sense at 15.

**747-8** τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν κέρδος: again a common tragic idiom, e.g. Eur. *Med.* 145, 798, etc., and Stevens on Eur. *Andr.* 404. (Perhaps τί δῆτά μοι should be written: cf. Eur. *Alc.* 960, *HF* 1301, Soph. *Aj.* 393.) For the sentiment, cf. 153-5, 582nn.

ἀλλ' οὐκ . . . ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτήν: the aorist tense denotes impatience, in effect: 'And (why) have I not *already* jumped . . .?', see Jebb on Soph. *OT* 1002 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ οὐχὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φόβου σ' ἀναξ, . . . ἐξελυσάμην. In 747, Porson's Bridge (Intro. p. 26) is not truly violated (οὐκ ἐν), since οὐκ is felt to be proclitic.

τῆσδ' ἀπὸ . . . πέτρας: this implies that Io is by now up on P.'s rock (571-3n.).

**749-50** ὅπως . . . πόνων | ἀπηλλάγην: (for the aorist indicative, cf. 156-7n.). Io's situation again sounds like P.'s (316n.), cf. 577-8n., 754; also 153-5n.

σκήψασα 'plunging' (intransitive).



**750–1** The final *gnome* expresses a common Greek sentiment, found again e.g. at Eur. *Tro.* 637 τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρῶς κρεῖσσόν ἐστι κατθανεῖν, and in essence as old as Achilles' choice of fates (Hom. *Il.* 9.410ff.).

**752–6** P. reminds Io that his own sufferings are worse than hers, in that he is immortal and cannot seek her escape of suicide. (Headlam's insertion of γε would emphasize the contrast nicely.) Yet in echoing her words (754 πημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴ, cf. 750), he confirms that they have much in common (772n.).

**753** δῶκε: referring to P. (ἐμούς 752).

**754** αὕτη is for τοῦτο (τὸ θανεῖν) by *attraction* to the gender of ἀπαλλαγὴ (Smyth §1239). For the thought of 753–4, cf. Soph. *Tr.* 1173 τοῖς γὰρ θανοῦσι μόχθος οὐ προσγίγνεται. P.'s *gnome* matches that of Io (750–1).

**755–6** οὐδὲν ... τέρας ... προκείμενον | μόχθων πρὶν ἔν ...: familiar phrases by now, cf. 98–100n., 257; 165, 175 (and later 1027). The repetitions keep the uncertainty of the future always in the audience's minds.

Ζεὺς ἐκπέσῃ τυραννίδος: an unexpected turn (we expect, 'until Zeus relents', cf. 256–8n.), which heads the dialogue in a new direction. ἐκπίπτω becomes henceforth a key word (756, 757, 912, 948, 957, 996). With its implied passive sense ('be thrown out', stronger than simply 'fall') it can be followed by ὑπὸ or πρὸς + genitive (as at 948), and thus reintroduces the idea of an external threat to Zeus' rule (170n.).

P.'s predictions are hard to reconcile with each other: cf. 103–5, 192, 256–8, 771, 873–4, 959nn., and *Intro.* p. 16–19.

**757** ἔστιν = ἔξεστιν (i.e. virtually πεπωμένον ἔστιν, cf. 753). Io echoes P.'s words in astonishment or disbelief (ἡ γάρ, cf. 745n.), and brings us back to the Chorus' question of 519.

**759** πῶς δ' οὐκ ἔν 'of course I would (be pleased) ...'; for the idiomatic ellipse, cf. Soph. *OT* 937, 1015, and *GP* 176–7.

**760** 'Well then, you may (πάρα = πάρεστι) rejoice (in the knowledge that) this is in fact the case.' (For ὥς + genitive absolute, see LSJ s.v. ὥς 1

3 and *GMT* §917-18.) The MSS have μαθεῖν σοι, which is unmetrical and makes weak sense (though cf. Soph. *Aj.* 281): γαθεῖν (= γηθεῖν, cf. 60-1n.) is almost certainly right (the present tense is rarely found, but see 156-7n.). For the whole line, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 904 ὡς ᾧδε τοῦδ' ἔχοντος αἰάζειν πάρα, *Aj.* 980-1, *Ant.* 1179, etc.

**761** 'By whom will (Zeus) be stripped of his tyrant's sceptre (poetic plural, cf. 767 θρόνων)?' For the construction, see 171n.

**762** πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ... βουλευμάτων 'By his own empty-headed plans he (will strip) himself.' The inverted order (for αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ) is common: see Wecklein *ad loc.*, 921, and 276 πρὸς ἄλλοι' ἄλλον, and e.g. our 'against one another', (cf. 19n.). βουλευμάτων echoes 170 βούλευμα, just as 761 σκήπτρα συληθήσεται echoes 171 σκήπτρον... ἀποσυλᾶται: the earlier hints are now at last being developed, and the contrast between P.'s knowledge and Zeus' ignorance is growing sharper. For the breathing (αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ; again at 1013), see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 836.

**763** Cf. 196 (and 765).

**764** γαμεῖ γάμον: (cf. 19n., 909) γαμεῖ could be either future or prophetic present (171n.).

ποτ' ἀσχαλαῖ: probably present (as γαμεῖ, and 767, 171n.) of ἀσχαλάω (usually confined to epic, with Attic preferring ἀσχάλλω, as at 303; but n.b. 162, 243 συνασχαλαῖ). Some editors are troubled by the combination of ποτε + present tense, and emend to ἀσχαλεῖ (future of ἀσχάλλω); others interpret ἀσχαλαῖ as future of \*ἀσχαλάζω (otherwise unattested). But Aesch. *Ag.* 126 χρόνῳ... ἀγρεῖ... κτλ. would seem a sufficient parallel; cf. too Eur. *Pho.* 633 (and, for ποτε with *historic* present, Eur. *Med.* 954).

Here for the first time we are told the nature of Zeus' βούλευμα (170, 762): he plans (or will plan one day) to 'marry' (648-9n.) someone who will bear a son more powerful than his father (768). The audience may already recognize that this is Thetis (cf. 768, 924-5nn. and *Introd.* p. 5).

**765** θέορτον ἢ βροτεῖον: (sc. γάμον) cf. 116.

**766** τί δ' ὄντιν'; ellipse for τί δ' (ἐρωταῖς) ὄντινα (γάμον γαμεῖ); For the dismissive 'epiplectic' question, cf. 101 and 263–76n.

οὐ γὰρ ῥητὸν αὐδοῦσθαι: at first sight pleonastic ('speakable to say', cf. 718 εὐβατος περᾶν), but ῥητός comes virtually to mean 'allowed', 'admissible', (cf. Aristoph. *Birds* 1713 οὐ φατὸν λέγειν) and here picks up Io's polite enquiry of 765 (εἰ ῥητόν).

**767** ἐξανίσταται: again prophetic present (171n.).

**768** ἢ τέξεταί γε: 'Yes (in as much as) she will bear ...' (254n.).

τέξεταί... φέρτερον πατρός: at Pind. *I.* 8.35 (478 B.C.) the prophecy concerning Thetis is that πεπρωμένον ἦν φέρτερον πατέρος ἄνακτα γόνον τεκεῖν ποντίαν θεόν. The similarity of phrasing here is probably not accidental, since φέρτερος occurs only once elsewhere in tragedy (Eur. *Hel.* 346, in lyrics); cf. 924–5n.

**770** 'None at all, except I would be, if I were to be freed' (cf. 258 πλὴν δταν ...): ellipse of apodosis for πλὴν ἔγωγε ἂν (ἀποστροφὴ γενοίμην), with λυθείς equivalent to εἰ λυθείην. By phrasing this as a remote (optative) condition, P. suggests that it is more likely that Zeus will fall.

**771** ὁ λύσων: cf. 27 ὁ λωφῆσων (in each case the object is easily supplied, cf. 176, 337, 722, 783, 785).

ἄκοντος Διός: Io's question is almost rhetorical: of course nobody will dare (or be able) to release P. in opposition to the tyrant of the gods, who clearly does not want him released. So the natural conclusion to be drawn from 755–69 is that Zeus *will* marry, and *will* fall from power. P. could prevent this, but only if freed (770) – and that seems impossible (771). It remains unclear from this play whether Zeus will relent, or will still be 'opposed' when Heracles releases P. (192, 256–8nn.): the use of ἄκων is not here decisive, since a voluntary act or decision can still be done ἄκων (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.43 ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ, with schol.). In Hes. *Th.* 527–9 Ἡρακλῆς ... ἐλύσατο (sc. Προμηθεῖα) δυσφροσυνῶων | οὐκ ἀέκητι Ζηνός ... (because Zeus wanted Heracles to be famous, *not* because he had forgiven P., with whom he was still angry); but in Hesiod there is no Thetis-secret to threaten Zeus (cf. 167–9, 189). See *Introd.* pp. 5–6, *App.* pp. 301–4.

**772** τῶν σῶν: the initial position and separation from their noun (*hyperbaton*) are emphatic: Io's question has more point than she realized. The link between Io and P. has finally been established (561-886n.).

**χρεών:** of the 19 occurrences of *χρή*, *χρεών* in this play, the majority mean simply (*one*) 'must' or 'should' (do something), in recognition of some immediate and practical demand, whether moral or physical (3, 103, 295, 630, 640, 659, 715, 721, 730, 930, 970). But 8 of the instances involve a more remote idea of *what 'must' happen*, akin to that of *Μοῖρα, τὸ πεπρωμένον*, etc. (511-12, 516nn.); so at 100, 184, 213, 485, 703, 772, 996, 1067, *χρή* and *χρεών* refer to a compulsion residing vaguely in the future (what 'must' come to pass, cf. *Italie s.v.*, in *fatis est* and the etymology, from *χράω*: n.b. 775 *χρησμοιδία*). It is not clear who (or what) is bringing the compulsion to bear: only P. (and his mother, Themis) possesses the oracular knowledge of what 'must' be, and only at 511-16 is any attempt made to define or analyse the forces at work. See further 103-5, 703-4nn., *Introd.* pp. 17-19, and Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 41.

**773** εἰπας: the regular form in tragedy (so too εἶπατε); see LSJ *s.v.*

**774** Lit. 'Yes, (that is to say) the third (child) as to birth on top of ten other generations', i.e. 'in the thirteenth generation', a variation on the common idiom *τρίτος (τέταρτος, κτλ.) ἐπὶ δέκα*: for further examples, and discussion of the number 13 in Greek myth, see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1605. According to schol. 774c Herington, the succession from Io is: Epaphus, Libya, Belus, Danaus (and Aegyptus), Hypermestra (and Lynceus, 865-6n.), Abas, Proetus, Acrisius, Danae, Perseus, Electryon, Alcmene, Heracles. Thus P.'s sufferings will not in fact last 'for 10,000 years' (94n.).

**775** ἥδ' ... *χρησμοιδία*: P.'s prophecies have been 'oracular' in that they have been *responses* to specific questions. By this point, Io is at a loss to 'put the pieces together' (*συμβάλλω*, cf. 486-7n.) and thus interpret the full meaning of these responses; see 755-6, 777-80nn., (also 833 and 823-76n.).

**776** 'And don't seek to learn about your *own* sufferings either.' The

particles (καὶ μηδὲ ... γε) suggest a close connection between the two sets of prophecies, cf. 742–81n. (τ' in some MSS makes no sense, and is probably a corruption of an original γ'; see *GP* 122).

**777–80** Ὁν κέρδος ... δωρήσομαι ... αἵρεσιν ... δίδου ... δίδωμ' ἐλοῦ ..., see 631–4n. For Io, as for the Chorus at 631, the 'advantage' that is to be gained is *knowledge*, i.e. relief from the uncertainty of what lies ahead (698–9). For the audience too, the confusing references to the future have created tensions which they wish to have resolved. P.'s pedantic separation of the two λόγοι (778) is about to thwart this wish, but the *koryphaios* again ensures that the full story is told.

**777** προτείνων: the present tense with εἰτα is adversative, 'expressing ... incongruity' (*LSJ* s.v. 12).

**778** δωρήσομαι: with different construction at 251.

**780–1** δίδωμ' (sc. αἵρεσιν) · ἐλοῦ ... ἢ ... φράσω ... ἢ ...: P.'s 2-line speech makes a pause in the stichomythia. There is no apparent motive for P.'s giving Io this 'choice', save that of whetting the audience's interest – and avoiding a direct revelation of the future (263–76, 786–9nn.); but see 844n. The construction as printed runs: 'Choose: I will tell either ... or ...', though it could be taken as deliberative question: 'Choose: am I to tell...?' (aorist subjunctive). Some editors have no punctuation after γάρ, giving an indirect question: 'Choose *whether ... or ...*' (in which case Blaydes' εἰ in 780 is probably required, since ἢ ... ἢ in indirect question rarely occurs outside epic; cf. Page on Eur. *Med.* 493); but it is doubtful whether αἰρέομαι can take such a construction.

### **782–822: Prometheus' Second Narrative (Io's Future Wanderings, continued)**

P. agrees to the Chorus' request (782–5) that he first inform Io of her future travels, and then tell them of his eventual rescuer. He completes his account of Io's wanderings, from the Bosphorus to Egypt.

**782–5** The Chorus' interruption ensures that neither of P.'s alterna-

tives is passed over in silence; cf. 283n., and Mastronarde 92-7. P. is again reminded that he has two listeners with different interests, and once more the pleasure and privilege involved in sharing P.'s revelations are stressed (χάριν, ἀτιμάσις, ποθῶ; cf. 631-4n.).

**782** τούτων: i.e. the two choices of 778-81. Wecklein, followed by several editors, writes τούτοις; cf. 790n.

**783** μηδ' ἀτιμάσις λόγου (sc. με) 'don't treat (me) as unworthy of (this) account' (genitive of separation, Smyth §1392ff., cf. 584-5 with n.). See 611 with n.

**785** τοῦτο γὰρ ποθῶ: cf. 629, 698 γλυκύ, in similar contexts.

**786-9** These four lines serve as introduction to the next stage of P.'s prophecy (193-6n.; n.b. asyndeton for the start of the narrative proper at 790, as at 199, 228, 354?). Words from earlier in the scene are echoed (630 ἐπεὶ προθυμῇ, 641 πᾶν ὅπερ προσχρήζετε, 781 φράσω, 784 γέγωνε). It is out of kindness that P. agrees to tell both λόγοι, rather than only one (778, 780-1n.), i.e. simply because his new friends are so eager to receive this 'favour' (782).

**787** τὸ μὴ οὐ γέγωνε: after a negative prohibition (as οὐκ ἐναντιώσομαι), μὴ οὐ + infinitive is regular, the article (τό) optional, Smyth §2744, *GMT* §811; cf. 918-19 οὐδὲν ... ἐπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ πεσεῖν. Here, and at 627, 918, the MSS are divided between μὴ and μὴ οὐ: at 1056 all omit οὐ. Scribes tend not to realize that μὴ οὐ scans as one syllable (*stasis*), and so they omit οὐ; see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 658, and examples in J. T. Allen and G. Italie, *A concordance to Eur.* (1971) 394 (also 627n., Griffith 199-200).

**788** σοὶ ..., ἴοι: see 635n.

πολύδονον πλάνην (cf. 589n., and Aesch. *Supp.* 16, 573). N.b. the alliteration of π, φ (98-100n.).

**789** The 'wax-tablets of the wits' are a conventional but vivid metaphor for the faculty of memory (so e.g. Pind. *O.* 10.2, Aesch. *Cho.* 450, *Eum.* 275, Soph. *Ph.* 1325; further Sansone 60-2, 'Aesch. has only one

metaphor for memory, and he uses it at least six times'). The phrase here implies close attention, as much as memory.

σύ: cf. 807 with n.

**790–815** The account of Io's wanderings is taken up at the point where it was left, i.e. the transition from Europe to Asia (n.b. 735 ἡπειρον/790 ἡπείρων). Whereas in 707–35 P. referred to well-known, if remote, geographical features and settlements (696–741 n.), in her next stage Io will visit the 'plains of the Gorgons', the golden 'River Pluto', with its griffins and one-eyed Arimaspians, and Ethiopia 'by the source of the sun'; she will come to the waterfall where the Nile begins, and thus into Egypt. So it is clear that she is supposed to be passing through the extreme eastern and southern reaches of the world, and the details are less precise than in the European part of her journey. Here especially it is probable that the poet is drawing on the *Arimaspeia* of Aristeas (696–741 n.). The dramatic effect is to emphasize the vast extent, but even more the bizarre and terrifying nature, of Io's sufferings.

**790** ῥεῖθρον ἡπείρων ὄρον: i.e. the Cimmerian Bosphorus plus R. Tanais (734–5 n.). The dual ἡπείροιον (Herwerden) is not necessary (cf. 782 n.).

**791–2** ἡλίου στιβεῖ (Hartung, for ἡλιοστιβεῖς in the MSS) supplies the imperative that we require (cf. 707–8), plus the genitive that regularly accompanies ἀνατολή (see LSJ s.v.), though στιβέω is found elsewhere only at Soph. *Aj.* 874. If ἡλιοστιβεῖς is retained (itself a likely enough tragic epithet, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 670 νιφοστιβεῖς χειμῶνες), we should posit a lacuna after 791 (so Heath) rather than emend 792 to e.g. πόντου πέρα σὺ φλοῖσβον (Sikes and Willson, after Denman), where σύ would have no force (contrast 789, 807 with n.).

πόντον περῶσ' ὀφλοισβον 'passing over (or 'through') a waveless sea'. Most MSS read πόντου περῶσα φλοῖσβον ('passing through the roar of the sea'), which is accepted by most editors. But such a casual mention of a stormy but unnamed sea for Io to swim seems inappropriate. The 'non-roaring sea', if meant literally, would have to be the landlocked Caspian, well to the east of the Bosphorus (and not, as Sikes and Willson suggest, the Pontus, which Io swims in the version of Aesch. *Supp.*; see J. E. Harry, *C.R.* 24 (1910) 174–8). More likely, the phrase is a kenning,

or riddle, for 'plain', like Aesch. *Th.* 64 κῦμα χερσαῖον; cf. 803 ἀκραγεῖς κύνας, 879-80 ἄρδις ἄπυρος (so Groeneboom).

**793** Κισθίνης: a city of this name existed near Pergamum; but here a plain or mountain in the far east must be meant. (The scholiasts can only guess, πόλις Λιβύης ἢ Αἰθιοπίας: a mountain of this name in Thrace is mentioned by ancient lexicons.) Harpocration *s.v.* quotes the fifth-century comedian Cratinus (= fr. 309 K) κένθενδ' ἐπὶ τέρματα γῆς ἥξεις καὶ Κισθίνης ὄρος ὄψῃ: so apparently 'Cisthene' was proverbial for its remoteness.

**793-800** Io will encounter figures familiar to the audience from Perseus' journey to capture the Gorgon's head. The 'three daughters of Phorcys' (794) are the Graeae, sisters (and here neighbours, 798) of the three Gorgons. Compare Hes. *Th.* 270-5 Φόρκυι δ' αὖ Κητὼ Γραιίας τέκε καλλιπαρήους | ἐκ γενετῆς πολιάς, τὰς δὲ Γραιίας καλέουσιν, | ... Γοργούς θ', αἱ ναίουσι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο | ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, Ἰν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι. According to Pherecydes (schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1515 = *FGH* 3 F 11, cf. Apollod. 2.4.2), Perseus first visited the Graeae, then acquired his wings and flew to 'the Ocean and the Gorgons' (i.e. the far *west*, cf. 796-7n., and Hes. *Th.* 274-5 above); but in Aesch.'s *Phorcides*, the Graeae lived close to the Gorgons, as their guardians (fr. 262 N = 459 M; cf. 798n.). Both Pherecydes and Aeschylus agree in having three Graeae, rather than two as in Hesiod, and in giving them a single tooth and eye to share (cf. 795-6).

**794-6** The three Graeae, Pemphredo ('Wasp'), Enyo ('War'), and Deino ('Terror'), are here older (δηναῖαι) and more monstrous than in Hes. *Th.* 270-1 (793-800n.). They are 'swan-like' presumably in respect to their white hair (cf. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1064 κύκνου τε πολιώτεραι ... τρίχες, Eur. *HF* 110, with Wilamowitz's n.), for there is no obvious reason why they should be 'swan-shaped' (see 796-7n.).

**795** ἐκτημέναι: the normal Attic (and Aeschylean) form would be κεκτημέναι (Griffith 197).

**796-7** The lack of sun- and moon-light suggests that the Graeae live underground (cf. 453), or at the very ends of the earth (798-800n.).



Dodds compares them to ‘the swan-maidens of Central Asiatic belief, who live in the dark and have eyes of lead’ (162 n. 37, suggesting Aristeas as source): but the conflation of these with the well-known figures from the Perseus legend would be awkward. Aeschylus, in an unknown context (fr. 262 N = 369 M) tells of women on whom neither sun nor moon looks (προσδέρκεται); cf. too Hom. *Od.* 11.14–19 ... οὐδέ ποτ’ αὐτοῦς (= the Cimmerians, near the Ocean) ἥελιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν | ... ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλοη τέταται ... and Hes. *Th.* 759–60.

**798–800** ‘The snake-fleeced, mortal-hating/hated Gorgons’ are Sthenno (‘Strength’), Euryale (‘Wide-leaper’), and Medusa (‘Ruler’) (Hes. *Th.* 276): those who gaze on them turn to stone. (See further on Gorgons K. Ziegler, *RE* vii.1630–55 (1912) s.v.) For μαλλός used of hair, cf. Eur. *Ba.* 112.

πέλας: as in Aesch. fr. 170 N = 369 M, but not Pherecydes (793–800n.). Here only, all six sisters are in the far east (790–1); normally the Gorgons are in the far west (or in Hades? Hom. *Od.* 11.634, Aristoph. *Frogs* 475). A scholion to Pind. *P.* 10.72 notes the discrepancy. But somehow both Perseus and Io eventually arrive in Ethiopia (808–9).

**801** See 500, 741nn. If the reading φρούριον is sound, it must mean ‘stronghold, garrison’ (of Gorgons), a peculiar choice of words (contrast 31 φρουρήσεις, 143 φρουράν. In *P. Lyomenos* fr. viii.9 *castrum hoc Furianum*, the defining genitive makes all the difference). The scholiasts explain it as ‘a thing to guard against’ (φρουρέω, cf. 804, and Hesychius s.v. φρούριον), an unparalleled and unlikely usage. Wakefield’s φροῖμιον, adopted by Page (cf. 741, and Dawe 166) is neat; but 790–801 are not really a ‘prelude’ to 802ff.

**802** θεωρίαν: cf. 69, 118, 302. Io’s travels do indeed resemble a ‘sight-seeing’ tour.

**803–6** Io must next watch out for griffins and one-eyed Arismaspians, by the gold-bearing river Pluto, another episode doubtless derived from Aristeas (696–741n.). Pausan. 1.24.6 records: ‘Aristeas ... says that these griffins fight over the gold with the Arismaspians, who live beyond

the Issedonians (i.e. far north). The earth yields gold, which the griffins guard. The Arimaspians are men, all of them one-eyed from birth; the griffins are animals like lions, but with wings and an eagle's beak' (cf. 803 ὀξύστομους). See too Hdt. 3.116, 4.13, Pliny, *NH* 7.1.10, and Bolton 62-7. So Aristeeas placed the Arimaspians in the far north; but Ctesias, early in the fourth century B.C., (*FGH* 688 F 45h = Aelian, *NA* 4.27) tells of griffins fighting over gold against the Indians, and here too in *Prom.* they appear to be in the east (807-9, cf. 798-800n.).

ἀκραγείς: a kenning (791-2n, cf. 358 ἀγρυπνον βέλος). More likely 'not-barking' (ἀ + κράζω) than 'sharp-tempered' (ἀκρός + ἀγη, Hermann). 'Dogs of Zeus' are elsewhere eagles (e.g. 1022, Aesch. *Ag.* 136), or Harpies (Ap. Rhod. 2.289), i.e. Zeus' faithful servants in the heavens (cf. LSJ s.v. κύων III). Griffins are more usually associated with Apollo.

στρατόν...οἱ...: cf. 417-19n. None of our other early sources specify that the Arimaspians ride horses (Bolton 198).

Πλούτωνος: this river is mentioned nowhere else, and is presumably imaginary, so named for the wealth that it contains (cf. 717n., 811).

807-9 σύ: here with little real emphasis (contrast e.g. 705), but employed for antithesis to τούτοις (as 782 τούτων σύ...): 'You have no business with *them*...' So too, at 789 'I'll tell you, and *you*, for your part...' (cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 139 κατεύχομαι σοί, καὶ σὺ κλυθί μου).

τηλουρόν...γῆν: Io will reach the other end of the world from P.'s place of punishment (cf. 1, 2n.). 'At the source of the sun' is metaphorical for 'where the sun rises', i.e. the extreme south or east; cf. 110 and Soph. fr. 956 R (= 870 N) ὑπὲρ τε πόντον πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός | νυκτός τε πηγάς. We should not try to think of a particular body of water, such as the 'lake' of *P. Lyomenos* fr. vi.4ff., or Ammon's Fount of the Sun (Hdt. 4.181).

ποταμός Αἰθίοψ: 'Ethiopia' was used as freely as 'Scythia' (2n.), to denote 'the whole area to the south, next to Ocean' (Strabo 1.2.27, where fr. vi is quoted). Here, far in the south-east, the 'Black River' must mean either the Niger or the Upper Nile (see 810-12n.).

810-12 καταβασμόν: the First, or Little, Cataract (tenth and last in descending the Nile), just below Elephantine. Known to the Greeks as

Κατάδουκα, it was often regarded as the starting-point of the Nile proper (hence 812 Νεῖλος almost = Νεῖλος γενόμενος, Wecklein; cf. 809 Αἰθίωv) and as the border of Egypt (Hdt. 2.17, cf. 2.29).

Βυβλίνων ὄρων: the 'Byblian' or 'Papyrus Mountains' are not elsewhere mentioned (though an Egyptian town of Byblos is). Epicharmus apparently derived 'Bibline' wine ἀπὸ βιβλίνων ὄρων (fr. 174 K = Et. Mag., Hesych. etc. s.v. βιβλινος; cf. Athen. 31a and West on Hes. *WD* 589): but this wine came from Thrace. So here βυβλίνων may be an ad hoc invention, based on the character of the region (cf. 806n.).

σεπτὸν... εὐποτόν: rivers are regularly 'sacred' to the Greeks (cf. 434), and the Nile was especially famed for its good water (e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 562).

813 αὐτὸς σ' ὀδῶσει: the river (like Io's father, Inachus) is personified; cf. 498, and 728 αὐταὶ σ' ὀδηγήσουσι, of the man-hating Amazons, the only other friendly guides that Io will find (apart from P. himself).

τρίγωνον: Hdt. 2.13 τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα.

814-15 οὐ δὲ... πέπρωται: emphatic (δὲ, see 456-8n., 848; plus the vocative, 'Io!'), and *that* is where it is (finally) ordained... (511-12n.). N.b. too the repetition Νεῖλος... Νειλῶτιν, at last a familiar name after the outlandish places and peoples that have preceded.

μακρὸν: both 'distant' (846-7) and 'long-lasting' (774n., 853-6).

816 τῶνδ': referring to all of 790-815. The asyndeton is a little abrupt; but the alternative (τῶν δ', quasi-relative, cf. 234 καὶ τοῖσιν) is unlikely, in the absence of an antecedent to τῶν in the previous clause (see *Italie* 196-7).

ψελλόν: transferred (*hypallage*, 358n.) from speaker (lit. 'lispering') to his speech ('hard to understand'). For the metaphor, cf. Aristot. *Met.* 1.993a 15 (describing the early philosophers) ψελλιζομένη γὰρ ἔοικεν ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία περὶ πάντων.

817 ἐπανδιπλαζε: the syncopated form is normal in tragic trimeters (cf. 521 ξυναμπέχεις with n.), though ἐπαναδιπλαζε would be metrically quite acceptable. N.b. present tenses, 'keep repeating (your questions) ...'

819-22 Another transitional quatrain from the Chorus (193-6n.)

reminds P. of his undertaking at 782-6, with strong verbal echoes (819-20 ... μέν ... τῇδε λοιπὸν ... γεγωνεῖν ... πολυφθόρου πλάνης / 784 τῇδε μέν γέγωνε τὴν λοιπὴν πλάνην, 787-8 γεγωνεῖν ... πολύδονον πλάνην). For πολυφθόρος, see LSJ s.v. φθεῖρω II.4, and Pearson on Soph. fr. 555.5 R = 511 N., i.e. 'driving you far off course'.

**821** λέγ': unusually heavy punctuation for this position in the trimeter (Introd. p. 27, Griffith 97). N.b. present tense, 'keep talking': contrast 822 δός.

ἡμῖν: the short iota is not paralleled in the trimeters of Aeschylus or Euripides (unless Kirkhoff's ὑμῖν is right at Aesch. *Supp.* 959), but is not uncommon in Sophocles (Griffith 82-3). ἡμῖν would violate Porson's Bridge (Introd. p. 26), unless αὖ is held to be semi-enclitic.

χάμιν: see 631-4n., 635.

**822** ἥνπερ: ἥντιν' of the MSS ('any favour that we ask') seems indefensible, unless taken simply as = ἥν, a usage of δστις barely, if ever, attested in the classical period (Thuc. 6.3, with K. J. Dover's n.; Ellendt s.v. δστις), but common in late Greek (whence doubtless the corruption here; cf. 609 with *app. crit.*).

### **823-76: Prometheus' Third Narrative (Io's Past and Her Eventual Fate)**

P. proves his mantic powers by describing Io's recent travels (823-43), and then goes on to complete his predictions about her and her descendants (844-70); he thus leads up to mention of his own deliverer (871-6), and the link between the fates of P. and Io, so unexpectedly introduced at 771-4, is made clearer.

**823-6** Seers, like the Muses, are remarkable for their uncanny knowledge of present, future, and *past* (Hom. *Il.* 1.70, of Calchas; Hes. *Th.* 32 of the Muses, where see West's n.); cf. 842-3. P. has already once demonstrated his powers by correctly identifying Io upon her arrival (589-92, 593-5nn.): now he goes further in supplying her with details known only to herself. So e.g. Cassandra impresses the Chorus at Aesch. *Ag.* 1087ff. with her knowledge of the past horrors of the House of Atreus, before going on to predict yet more.

These first four lines (193-6n.) are addressed to the Chorus, and 823 responds to 819-20 (with Io mentioned in the third person, ἦδε / τῇιδε); but in 824-6, instead of telling them who will release him (cf. 821-2, 785), P. returns to Io and her recent past (see 844, 263-76, 630nn.).

**824** ὅπως... ἄν: see 10n.

**827-43** P. turns to address Io; only at 844ff. does he deal with the Chorus' request; see 735-41n.

**827-8** ὁχλον... ἐκλείψω λόγων: cf. 313. P. will not bother to describe all of Io's wanderings since her expulsion from her father's house in Argos (682), but will concentrate on the 'last stage' (τέρμα) from Dodona to here.

**829-41** ἐπεὶ...: P. speaks as if we knew already that Io had set out for Dodona, though no such indication was given at 628ff. (see 658-9n.; also, for Dodona as goal of an exile, cf. Eur. *Pho.* 981-4). Once again, the narrative style becomes elaborately periodic (199n.), with the first main clause postponed until 837, following four subordinate clauses (ἐπεὶ ..., ἵνα ..., ὅφ' ὄν ..., οἰστρήσασα), and a parenthesis (835), all with marked enjambement.

**829-32** Thesprotis and the Molossian Plain were in Epirus (north-western Greece), south-west of modern Ioannina, below Mt Tmaros, at whose foot lay Dodona (830 αἰπύνωτον, cf. 658-9n.). Io may have travelled there by a roundabout route from Argos (827-8n.).

The 'speaking oaks' (most 'ancient references are to a *single* oak) of Zeus at Dodona were regarded as the most venerable oracle in Greece (Hom. *Il.* 16.233-4, *Od.* 14.327-8, Hdt. 2.52; see further Jebb's Appendix on Soph. *Tr.* 1166, H. W. Parke, *Greek oracles* (London 1967) 20-5, 107-18). The rustling leaves were interpreted to the public by the priests (and priestesses? cf. Jebb *loc. cit.* pp. 202ff.) of Zeus. From 658-69 we must conclude that the oracle had previously failed to respond to Inachus' enquiries.

γάπεδα: Porson's necessary correction of the unmetrical δάπεδα of the MSS. The quasi-Doric alpha of the first syllable (cf. Hdt. 7.28 γεώπεδον) is paralleled in such forms as γάμορος (Aesch. *Supp.* 613, *Eum.* 890),

γάπονος (Eur. *Supp.* 420), etc; see further 60-1n., and R. Renchan, *Greek textual criticism* (Harvard 1969) 117-19.

**833-5** Cf. 661-4, and 663n; also 609-12n.

προσσαινει 'does any of this appeal to you?' It is unclear whether τῶνδε refers to the prospect of marriage with Zeus, or to the accuracy of P.'s whole account of 829-35 (the scholiasts are divided). The parenthetical position favours the former (perhaps it is made in response to a gesture by Io). For σαινω used of words getting through to someone, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1214 παιδός με σαινει φθόγγος, Eur. *Hipp.* 862, *Ion* 685 οὐ . . . με σαινει θέσφατα . . ., and Thomson's n. *ad loc.* (his 861). Usually some sense of 'win over, appeal to' is still felt, as in the original meaning, 'fawn, wag'.

**836-7** 'Rushing frenziedly along the coastal path', i.e. northwards, up the west coast of Epirus; οἰστρήσασα here intransitive, cf. 566n. and Eur. *IA* 77 καθ' Ἑλλάδ' οἰστρήσας δρόμῳ ('running frantically').

κόλπον Ῥέας: the Adriatic Sea, extending north of the Ionian Sea (840n.). It was also sometimes called the 'Sea of Kronos' (Ap. Rhod. 4.327 with scholia).

**838** παλινπλάγκτοισι 'turning back' (sc. inland?), i.e. into Scythia.

χειμάζη: cf. 563n. The present tense signifies that P.'s account has brought Io up to date with her present position.

**840** Ἰόνιος: probably to be scanned with short first iota: this is correct for the 'Ionian' Sea (probably derived from Ἰῶνες = 'Ionians'), but wrong for this alleged etymology (Ἴω, 635, 695, 788, 899; *anceps* at 815); cf. 732-4n.

**841** τῆς σῆς πορείας: as in 733; but here (and 823) πορεία = 'journey', rather than 'crossing'.

**842-3** P. rounds off this section of his speech by linking up with his introduction, 824-6 (ring-composition, 826 τεκμήριον / 842 σημεία), cf. 823-6n. On the φρήν which 'sees something more than is openly revealed', Sansone (13) observes: 'Emotion is not distinguished in Aesch. from sense-perception. . . The same organ can perform several different functions.' In the case of φρήν (originally 'diaphragm', or possibly

'lungs'), these include perception (as Aesch. *Th.* 25?, *Cho.* 26, 157, and here), emotion and thought (cf. *Ag.* 1491, *Cho.* 107), recollection (789n.), and even speech (*Ag.* 1491, *Cho.* 107, *Supp.* 775); cf. too 360-1n. Sansone's suggestion of πεφρασμένου ('than what I have said', cf. 844 φράσω) is needless.

**844** The two issues, Io's sufferings and P.'s release, have hitherto been kept separate, and P.'s predictions about each have been addressed *either* to Io *or* to the Chorus (780-1 with n., 823-6n.). Now he is finally prepared to combine the issues and satisfy both members of his audience; see Mastronarde 36-7.

**845** P. gets 'back on the track' of his account, interrupted at 815. πάλαι thus means 'just now, recent', as e.g. at Aesch. *Ag.* 587 (Clytaemestra) ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο.

**846-8** ἔστιν πόλις ... ἐνταῦθα δὴ: for this manner of introducing a narrative, compare e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.811-15 ἔστι δέ τις ... κολώνη ... ἐνθα τότε ..., Thuc. 1.24.1 Ἐπίδαμνος ἔστι πόλις ..., and R. G. Austin's n. on Virg. *Aen.* 4.483; see too Mastronarde 43-4.

**846** Κάνωβος: Canopus (near the later Alexandria), on the 'furthest (north-west) edge of the land (of Egypt)' (cf. 813-15), is likewise mentioned in Aesch. *Supp.* 311-12: (Io) ... καὶ μὴν Κάνωβον κάπι Μέμφιν ἴκετο | καὶ Ζεὺς γ' ἐφάπτωρ χειρὶ φητὺν γόνον.

**847** προσχώματι: the 'mound' of silt deposited by the Nile into the Delta. The whole passage may have been influenced by Solon fr. 28 W Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς.

**848-51** ἐνταῦθα δὴ: see 814-15n. For both Io and Zeus it will have been a long wait: but in the end, her deliverance is gentle enough (Conacher 64).

...σε...τίθησιν ἔμφρονα: prophetic present (171n.): 'will restore you to your wits', (cf. 673: presumably also to human form?).

ἀταρβεῖ 'causing no fear'; cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 1062-6 Ζεὺς ... ὅσπερ 'ὠ | πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ' εὖ | χειρὶ παιωνίαι κατασχεθῶν ... In Hes fr. 124 M-W,

Soph. *Inachus* fr. 269a. 34ff. R, it is apparently the touch of Zeus' hand that first transforms Io *into* a cow; see 561–886n.

ἐπώνυμον...γεννημάτων 'named after (the manner of) Zeus' begetting (him)', i.e. 849 ἐπαφῶν, cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 314. Many critics have been troubled by the lack of explicitness of 849–50 (contrast *Supp.* 312, quoted on 846n.). Elmsley's τίθησ' ἐγκύμονα, accepted by Page, is explicit enough, but rather a violent alteration, (nor does it describe any 'release from pains' for Io, as we might expect). Wieseler's γέννημ' ἀφῶν (lit. 'product of Zeus' touchings') is clever, but gives awkward word-order. Others, in desperation, suggest a lacuna after 849. But after all the earlier predictions (648–54, 772–3, 814–15, 834–5), Io and the audience will find 849 quite suggestive enough, so that 850 τῶν γεννημάτων will be no surprise (τῶν almost = τῶνδε).

κελαινὸν Ἐπαφὸν 'dark' as an Egyptian (despite his Greek parentage); cf. 808. Epaphus was already associated by some Greeks before Herodotus (3.27) with the Egyptian bull-god Apis (later Serapis).

**853–6** πεμπτή ... γέννα ... θηλύσπορος: the daughters of Danaus (774n.). The *Supp.* of Aesch. represents their arrival in Argos, in flight from forced marriage with their fifty cousins, sons of Aegyptus (see too 561–886n.)

**856** ἐπτοημένοι φρένας: 'retained' accusative (171n.), less well described as 'accusative of respect'. πτοέω is frequently used of violent emotion, especially sexual passion, e.g. Eur. *IA* 586 ἔρωτι δ' αὐτὸς ἐπτοάθης, Sappho fr. 31.5 LP τό μ' ἦ μὰν καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτοάσεν: further examples in Groeneboom *ad loc.*

**857** κίρκοι πελειῶν ... λελειμμένοι '(like) hawks not far behind doves ...' For the omission of ὥς in a simile, cf. e.g. Theogn. 347 ἐγὼ δὲ κύων ἐπέρησα χαράδρην (further examples, especially from comedy, are cited by Groeneboom *ad loc.*). The simile of hawks pursuing doves is at least as old as Hom. *Il.* 22.139–40 ἤυτε κίρκος ... οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνά πέλειαν (also *Il.* 21.493–5, Alcman, *PMG* 82), but may owe its occurrence here to imitation of Aesch. *Supp.* 223–4 (also of the daughters of Danaus) ... ἐσμός ὥς πελειάδων | ἔζεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ.

The genitive after λελειμμένοι (cf. Thuc. 1.131 εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι = 'they told him to stay with the herald') is one of com-



parison, (lit. 'left further behind *than* ...'), comparable to that with e.g. ἡσσάομαι (Smyth §1402).

θηρεύοντες: see 1072, and 572 κυνηγετεῖ with n.

**859** φθόνον ... ἔξει = φθονήσει, 'will begrudge (them possession of their wives') bodies', cf. 584n. The sons of Aegyptus will succeed in 'hunting down' and marrying their cousins (858–9) but will never gratify their physical desire (856).

**860–1** Troublesome lines. As printed, they run (lit.): 'And the land of Pelasgus will be drenched by murderous female war, with them slain by night-vigilant audacity'. δεύσεται is thus middle form for passive (as e.g. 269, 871, 929). δαμέντων, with αὐτῶν understood (cf. *GMT* §848, Smyth §2072) is best taken as genitive absolute, though objective genitive after -κτόνῳ would be possible.

With δέξεται of the MSS, we should have to choose between three lines of interpretation: (i) 'The land of Pelasgus will receive (the Danaids) hospitably, after (the Aegyptids) have been slain ...' The objections to this are: (a) we already understand from 854–8 (and from all other versions of the myth) that both parties have arrived in Argos before the marriage and murder; (b) there is no object for δέξεται; (c) γάρ (862) is then limited to explaining δαμέντων, and the order of events is interrupted. (ii) 'The land of Pelasgus will receive (them, i.e. the Aegyptids) after they have been slain ...', i.e. will harbour their corpses. The genitive δαμέντων would then be intolerable (though see Page's n. on Eur. *Med.* 910), and the point of δέξεται rather strained and weak. δαμέντας would be easy (Pauw), but the corruption inexplicable. (iii) A lacuna may be recognized, in which the details can be filled out (so Hermann, Groeneboom, etc.). But still δέξεται is unwanted, *after* the murder has been committed.

Πελασγία: (sc. γῆ) the term is regularly applied to Argos (Eur. *Supp.* 365ff., *Or.* 960; cf. Strabo 5.2.3–4). Pelasgus seems to be the name of the king in Aesch. *Supp.* (250, 634).

**862** αἰῶνος στερεῖ = 'will kill', as Hom. *Il.* 22.58 αὐτὸς δὲ φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμερθῆις.

**863** ἐν σφαγαῖσι: either specifically 'in their throats', as at Eur. *Or.* 291

τεκούσης ἐς σφαγὰς ᾄσαι ξίφος (see LSJ s.v. 11), or generally 'in streams of blood', as often.

**βάνασα ξίφος:** cf. Soph. *Aj.* 95 ἔβανας ἔγχος εὐ πρὸς Ἀργείων στρατῶν, (but differently at Aesch. *Cho.* 1011).

**864** A conventional form of curse, cf. 972-3 and e.g. Eur. *IA* 463 τοιούτους γάμους | γημείας αὐτὸς χῶστις ἐστὶ σοι φίλος. It is doubtful whether the audience would connect it with Zeus (= P.'s 'enemy'), and with the threat to his power that will result from his lust (= Cypris) for Thetis.

**865-6** **μίαν δέ:** Hypermestra (774n.), who will spare her husband, Lynceus: *una de multis face nuptiali | digna*, (Horace, *Od.* 3.11.33-4; cf. Ovid, *Her.* 14). It is unclear whether παίδων is to be taken with **μίαν** or with **ἡμερος**: probably the former, since in most versions, it is love for her husband which motivates her.

**τὸ μὴ | κτείνει:** cf. 236n.

**866-7** **ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται | γνώμην** 'Will have her resolve blunted' (retained accusative, 171n.), cf. Aesch. *Th.* 715 τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλύνεις λόγῳ (and 844); also 311 above, τεθηγμένους λόγους, with n.

**868** **κλύειν** 'to be called', as often with κλύω and ἀκούω.

**869-70** **βασιλικὸν... γένος:** better 'a royal line' than 'a kingly son' (i.e. Abas, 774n.): the asyndeton ('explanatory', cf. 266n.) in 870 confirms this, as P. declines to list (ἐπεξελεῖν) all the members of the line.

**871** **γεμήν:** resumptive and adversative, 'But (this) at any rate (I will tell you ...)' (*GP* 348).

**871-3** **σποράς ... ἐκ τῆσδε:** i.e. from the γένος of 869. The absence of a noun for θρασὺς is peculiar (θρασὺς ... τόξοισι κλεινός, δς ... instead of e.g. θρασὺς τοξότης δς ...); the nearest parallels in tragedy seem to be Soph. *El.* 696-7 δταν δέ τις θεῶν | βλάβητι, δύναται ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν (where ἰσχύων, 'a strong man', is of general, not particular, reference), or Aesch. *Ag.* 1280 ἤξει ... ἄλλος αὐτὸν τιμάορος (where τιμάορος can work as a noun much more easily than θρασὺς here, and ἄλλος αὐτὸν helps too).

Sikes and Willson (followed by Page) therefore write σπόρος, an attractive conjecture. (σπόρος is not found in tragedy, but three times in just this sense in Lycophron, whose *Alexandra* constantly imitates, or exaggerates, tragic diction.) The objection to this is that ἐκ τῆσδε must then refer to Hypermestra (869 αὐτή), whereas the mention of γένος, and the interruption of 870, have led us to suppose that we are by now several generations further down the line. 'Seed from her ...' would imply 'her son' (so σπόρος at Lycophr. 750). Wecklein suggests τόξοισι κλεινὸς Ἴνις, δς πόνων ἔμε ..., more ingenious than convincing: others think of a lacuna after 871.

τόξοισι ... δς ... λύσει: the reference to Heracles is now (to the audience) unmistakable; and at last the promise of 771ff., 785, has been fulfilled. As in Hes. *Th.* 528 (and earlier 27), the phrase 'release from miseries' is ambiguous: will Heracles literally 'release' P. from his bonds (cf. 176, etc., and especially 771), or merely 'relieve' him of his agony (by shooting the eagle, cf. 1021ff.)? See App. pp. 295-6. (πόνων may further give us a fleeting reminder of Heracles' own 'labours': cf. 1027 πόνων with n.)

The enjambement and strong pause after λύσει help to convey the sense of final release after a long succession of miseries.

**873-4** See 18, 209-11 with nn. Τιτανίς presumably = 'mother of Titans' (rather than herself 'Titan' = daughter of Earth; cf. 209-10n.). As he completes his predictions to Io and the Chorus, P. once again reminds them (and us) that his powers stem from an august and reliable source (Introd. p. 8; contrast 755-6n., 959 with n.).

**875-6** ὅπως δὲ χάπη: pleonastic, as in our 'whys and wherefores': Groeneboom *ad loc.* gives Greek and Latin parallels and analogies.

μακροῦ λόγου: cf. 870, 46n. The variant χρόνου is possible, but more likely to be a simple copying slip. (The same error occurs at Aesch. *Pers.* 713; cf. too *Prom.* 449.) Once again, the long rhesis is rounded off with a four-line coda (873-6); see 193-6n.

### **877-86: The Departure of Io**

**Metre:** anapaests, as the stinging madness comes over Io once again.

She makes no response to P.'s speech, and her own words are addressed to nobody in particular (see Mastronarde 74–6). Instead she describes the physical symptoms of her state in vivid detail, while she is swept helplessly away (cf. 1080–93, 1085–6nn.), presumably down the opposite *parodos* to that along which she entered at 561. The change of metre, and the simple parataxis (six main verbs, connected with *δέ*), effectively highlight her sudden loss of control (cf. the metres of 561ff.; also 93ff., especially 114–27 with 88–127, 120–7nn.). The anapaests also mark the beginning of her movement off-stage (as at 1040ff., and e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 938ff., but nowhere in Aeschylus; Griffith 112–14). So Io departs as she had arrived, in frenzied anapaests (561–5): n.b. the verbal echoes 879–80 οἷστρον... χρίει με / 567 χρίει... με... οἷστρος, 881 φόβωι / 568 φοβοῦμαι, and the exclamations 877/566.

**877** ἐλελεῦ: usually a war-cry, to judge from Aristoph. *Birds* 364, Plut. *Thes.* 22, and Hesychius (and n.b. words of invocation or triumph formed on the base ἀλαλα- and ὀλολ-: the sound is still used by modern Mediterranean and N. African women), though the scholiasts (and Hesych.) believed that it is here used to express anguish. The military urgency, 'On, on ...' might be effective here, and anapaestic rhythm was especially suited to marching and martial verse (120–7n.). (Hiatus is quite normal in exclamations; cf. 114–19, 601, 687.)

**878–9** ὑπὸ ... θάλλουσ': *tnesis* (cf. 574 ὑπὸ ... ὀτοβεῖ, and 133–4n.) For 'burning' as a symptom of mental disorder, see 649–50n., and Sappho fr. 31 LP, Aesch. *Ag.* 1256 (Cassandra) οἷον τὸ πῦρ ἐπέρχεται, with Fraenkel's n. ('Freezing' may also occur, see 692 with n.)

σφάκελος: a 'spasm' (again 1045), possibly of the brain (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1352 κατὰ δ' ἐγκέφαλον πηδᾶι σφάκελος, Hippocr. *de aer.* 50; so the scholiasts), but more likely of the whole body (cf. 878 φρενοπληγεῖς, 881 φρένα, and the σκιρτήματα referred to at 599, 675).

φρενοπληγεῖς: active (contrast 1054 φρενοπλήκτων 'smitten in their wits'); cf. 133–4n. There is no sufficient reason to alter this formation, though Cobet's φρενοπλήγες, as from \*φρενοπλήξ, would be more regular (cf. ἀντιπλήξ, παραπλήξ).

**879–80** οἷστρον δ' ἄρδης ... ἄπυρος: lit. 'the un-fired (= unforged)

spearhead of the fly'. For the kenning, see 791–2n.; for *χρίει*, and for the ambiguity between literal and metaphorical application of the terms, see 566, 567nn.

**881** Groeneboom *ad loc.* quotes numerous parallels for a heart or diaphragm (*φρένα*, cf. 361, 842–3n.) 'palpitating/leaping/dancing' in terror, from Hom. *Il.* 10.94–5 *κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω | στηθέων ἐκθρώϊσκει*, to Shakespeare, *Macbeth* 1.3 '... and make my seated heart knock at my ribs'.

**883–4** *ἔξω δὲ δρόμου ... πνεύματι μάργωι*: cf. 133–4n. The metaphor begins in the realm of chariot-racing (as Aesch. *Cho.* 1022–3 *ὥσπερ ξὺν ἱπποῖς ἡνιοστροφῶ δρόμου | ἔξωτέρω*, cf. 886n.), but is quickly complicated by the nautical image of *πνεύματι*: see Silk 237–8, *Introd.* p. 20.

*γλώσσης ἀκρατής*: (for the genitive, cf. 416 with n.) cf. Soph. *El.* 1175 *κρατεῖν γὰρ οὐκέτι γλώσσης σθένω* (out of grief and shock), Sappho fr. 31 LP 7–8 (out of love).

**885–6** Expanding *γλώσσης ἀκρατής*: 'And (my) muddled words dash randomly against the waves of loathsome ruin.' A celebrated Homeric simile compares the onslaught of the Trojans to a river running into the breakers of the sea (*Il.* 17.263–4 *ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ προχοῇσι διιπετέος ποταμοῖο | βέβρυχεν μέγα κύμα ποτὶ ῥόον*), though there it is more the *violence* of the turbulent collision, here rather the *confusion*, that is at issue.

It is hard to choose between *παίουσι* and *πταίουσι* ('stumble against', cf. 926). The latter might seem appropriate for incoherent words; but it fits less well with the image; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 116 *πολλῆς δ' ἑρίδος συνέπαισε κλύδων*, and perhaps Aesch. *Ag.* 1624 (and fr. 99.23?). N.b. 100 1056 *παραπαιεῖν*, of words 'striking' a false note.

'Waves' and 'storms' of madness or misery are conventional enough in Greek poetry (643n. and especially 746); but here the details of the metaphor are unusually bold (see 1050–2n.). Indeed, the whole self-description of 877–86 (words doing duty for the physical enactment of frenzy, 64–5, 1080nn.) is an extraordinarily vivid account of a seizure: convulsions (879), palpitations of the heart (881), rolling eyes (882), loss of motor control (883), inarticulate speech (884–6), are all accurately described. Modern experts have diagnosed grand mal epilepsy (the 'sacred disease'), but nothing so specific need be intended here; cf. B.

Simon, *Mind and madness in ancient Greece* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1978) esp. 152, 220ff.

### 887–906: Fourth Song (Third Stasimon) of the Chorus

The Chorus recognize the wisdom of marrying on one's own social level (887–93); they pray never themselves to attract, as Io did, the advances of any of the Olympian gods, since misery is sure to follow (894–906).

Characteristically, the Chorus' predominant emotion is fear, and once again they seem virtually human (see 526–60n.) in their vulnerability and alarm in the face of the 'greater gods' (902). Their horror and sympathy for Io's experiences are the more strongly felt in so far as such experiences could befall them too. Thus their concern is quite narrowly restricted to the immediate context (the dangers of divine suitors), and there is no attempt to explore the further implications of Zeus' behaviour, to question the propriety of his conduct, or to look for an underlying meaning that might justify these events. It would have been easy enough to use ambiguous language, to suggest the possible dangers to Zeus of such marriages (thereby putting us in mind of Thetis; cf. e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 471–4): but no such hints are to be heard in this ode (even 908–9 makes little of the irony, cf. 920–1n.). The Chorus continue merely to *react* to what they see and hear: they do not speculate, still less ponder (Intro. pp. 10–11, 22–3, 34, 397–435n.).

#### *Metre: strophe and antistrophe*

887	ἡ σοφός ἡ σοφός ἦν	D
894	μηποτε μηποτε μ' ὦ	
888	ὅς πρῶτος ἐν γνῶμαι τὸδ' ἔβαστασέ και	x e x D
895	Μοιραι < > λεχεων Διος εὐ-	
889	γλῶσσαι διεμυθολογήσεν.	x D x
896	νατειραν ἰδοισθε πελουσαν,	
890	ὥς τὸ κηδεύσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρίστευει μακρῶι,	e x D x e
897	μηδε πλαθειην γαμεται τινι των ἐξ οὐρανού·	

891	καῖ μῆτε τῶν πλούτῳ διαθρυπτομένων	x e x D
898	ταρβῶ γὰρ ἄστεργανορα παρθενίαν	
892	μῆτε τῶν γεννᾶν μεγαλυνόμενων	e x D
899	εἰσορῶσ' ἴους ἀμαλαπτομέναν	
893	ὄντα χερνήταν ἔραστευσαι γάμων.	e x e x e
900	δυσκλάνοις Ἑρας ἀλατείαις πόνων.	

Again, straightforward dactylo-epitrite (see n. on metre of 526-44). Here the final colon retains the 'epitrite' character, and does not relax to admit a bacchiac (as do 535 = 544 and other dact.-ep. odes in tragedy; see Griffith 41-2). Verbal responsion between strophe and antistrophe is not extensive: we note only the *anadiplosis* in the opening words of both strophe and antistrophe, and the faint echoes 892 μεγαλυνόμενων / 899 ἀμαλαπτομέναν, 893 γάμων / 900 πόνων (? see 900n.).

The metrical character of the two stanzas is restrained and reflective: the Chorus are anxious, but relatively calm.

*Epode (901-6)*

901	ἔμοι δ' ὅτε μὲν ὁμᾶλος ὁ γάμος	2 iambs
901b	τᾷφοβός· οὐ δεδίατ	?
902	μῆδ' ἐκρεῖσσόνων θεῶν	cretic + iambic
903	ἔρως ἀφυκτόν ὁμᾶ προσδρακοῖ με.	2 iambs + bacchiac
904	ἀπολεμος ὁδε γ' ὁ πόλεμος ἀπορ-	2 iambs
905	ἄ πορίμος· οὐδ' ἔχω τις ἀν' γένοιμαν.	2 iambs + bacchiac
906	τὰν Δίος γὰρ οὐχ ὄρω	cretic + iambic
906b	μῆτιν ὅπαι φυγοῖμ' ἀν.	aristophanean

The metre is consistently iambic, with liberal resolution in 901 and

904-5, and some syncopation (902 and 906 open with cretics; 903 and 905 close with bacchiacs). The precise reading and metre for 902 are uncertain (see n.), but iambs are most likely there too. (For possible alternatives, i.e. dochmiacs, see Griffith 57-9.) Period-end is certain after 903, and highly probable after 905. The clausula (paralleled at Aesch. *Cho.* 792, cf. too *Supp.* 1062; Eur. *Hipp.* 1149-50) is a variation on such common clausular dicola as  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \mid \text{—} \cup \cup \text{—}$   
 $\cup \text{—} \wedge \text{—} \parallel$ , and  $\text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \mid \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \wedge \text{—} \parallel$  (cf. too  $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \mid$ ); further discussion in Griffith 59.

The scurrying resolutions give a sense of urgency to this stanza. The tension is greater, the mood more disturbed, than in the preceding strophic pair, as the Chorus contemplate their own insecurity. The iambic metre is not much employed in the lyrics of *Prom.*: when it is, as here, it is usually in contexts of fear and uncertainty (so 115-19, 566-8; also 160-4 = 178-82). The resolved, but largely unsyncopated, character of this play's iambs is different from that of Aeschylus, who uses the metre very extensively, but in a more halting and syncopated manner which is quite distinctive (Griffith 60-3).

**887-9**  $\eta \sigma\phi\acute{o}\varsigma \dots \delta\varsigma \dots$ : for a similar introduction to a piece of traditional wisdom, cf. Aristoph. *Wasps* 725  $\eta \text{ που } \sigma\phi\acute{o}\varsigma \eta\nu \delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \epsilon\phi\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu \dots$ , n.b. too Aesch. *Ag.* 750 (and 681-5), *Cho.* 313, Soph. *Ant.* 620, etc. In each case, the reference is vaguely impressive, but no particular source of wisdom is meant (though see 890n.). For the emphatic *anadiplosis*, cf. 894, 266n., and (in lyrics) e.g. Soph. *Ph.* 688  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon \pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma \kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon \dots$  (For possible alternative readings, see 894-5n.)

$\epsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon$ : 'weighed' in his mind; cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 438  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \delta' \iota\delta\epsilon\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi}\eta\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha \delta' \epsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\iota$ .

**890** The *gnome* is a more specific version of the general motto, 'like to like' (Hom. *Od.* 17.218, etc.). We find the proverb  $\tau\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu \epsilon\lambda\alpha$  in Callim. *Epigr.* 1 (= Diog. Laert. 1.79-80), in a story about Pittacus, again applied to marriage: the story is repeated in the scholiasts to our passage, who think that  $\sigma\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$  here actually refers to Pittacus (one of the Seven Sages).  $\kappa\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$  is either more specific, or more dignified, than  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ , according to whether we take  $\tau\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu \epsilon\lambda\alpha$  as 'Keep to your own (sc.  $\acute{o}\delta\acute{o}\nu$ , path)', or as 'Make love to the one (sc. woman) at your level ...' (for  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\upsilon\nu\omega$  in this sense, see Plato *Comicus* fr. 3.4.



Aristoph. *Eccl.* 39, 1082, LSJ *s.v.* 15). We may compare too (as another scholiast does) Pind. *P.* 2.34, or Eur. fr. 214 κῆδος καθ' αὐτὸν τὸν σοφὸν κτᾶσθαι χρεών, Ovid, *Her.* 9.32. Further examples in Thomson's n. (on his 913).

**891–3** τῶν ... μεγαλυνομένων: objective genitives after γάμων, ... 'and that (one) who is a (mere) manual labourer should not desire marriage with ...' N.b. the parallelism and assonance of 891 and 892, confirming that wealth and birth are equally pompous and inaccessible.

**894–900** In the antistrophe, the Chorus apply the *gnome* of the strophe to their own case; then (as at 540–1) they point to the obvious paradigm (Io and Zeus) that they have just witnessed (898–900, cf. 347–72n.).

**894–5** The antistrophe is four syllables shorter than the strophe at this point. Probably a word has dropped out before or after Μοῖραι (e.g. Hermann's ὦ Μοῖραι μακραίωνες, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 987; or Headlam's τελέστειραι (or ὦ τελεσφόροι Μοῖραι ..., cf. 511). Alternatively, we must emend 887–8, as e.g. Triclinius ἡ σοφὸς ἡ σοφὸς δς πρῶτος τόδ' ἐβάστασε.... But the twofold intrusion (ἦν, ἐν γνώμαι) would then be remarkable, and the metre rather too predominantly dactylic (D × D × D ×). (Perhaps in 894 μήποτ' ἔμ' ... should be read, for emphasis.)

**897** τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ: loosely for 'any of the gods in heaven', though the phrase might suggest Kronos and his brother Titans (cf. 164b–5 with n., 205): but these are not on the Chorus' mind now (especially since one of their own sisters is in fact P.'s wife; cf. 559–60).

**898–9** ταρβῶ γὰρ ... εἰσορᾶσ': almost formulaic, for this Chorus: cf. 144–6 φοβερά ... εἰσιδούσαι, 181–4 ... φόβος, δέδια δὲ ... ἐσιδεῖν, 540 φρίσσω δέ σε δερκομένα, 695 πέφρικ' εἰσιδοῦσα, (and 397–400, 552–6). Contrast 1063–70n.

ἀστεργάνορα παρθενίαν ... Ἰοῦς 'Io, (this) virgin who dislikes (her would-be) husband ...' (cf. 724 στυγάνορα); a dignified periphrasis of the kind exemplified by Πολυνείκους βία (Aesch. *Th.* 577), Ἰσμήνης κάρα (Soph. *Ant.* 1), κτλ.

ἀμαλαπτομέναν: the unmetrical γάμωι δαπτομέναν in the MSS was nicely emended by Weil to γ' ἀμαλαπτομέναν. ἀμαλάπτω is used by

Lycophron (e.g. 34 ἡμάλαψε κάρχαρος κύων) and apparently by Sophocles (Hesychius s.v. = Soph. fr. 465 R). But γε is pointless here, and Dindorf did well to remove it. Alternatively, we might read Schütz's μέγα δαπτομέναν ('greatly wounded').

**900** A most unsatisfactory line: lit. '... by Hera's ill-wandering roving of troubles', a phrase almost as awkward in Greek as in English. An expression such as ἀλητεῖαι πόνων, i.e. 'wanderings consisting of troubles' (appositive genitive) might be possible (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 888 τὸν μακρῶν ἀλάταν πόνων, though there the sense is rather 'him who wandered through troubles...'); but here the epithet δυσπλάνοις, and the second genitive Ἥρας, make the transmitted reading extremely clumsy. Sikes and Willson quote as a parallel construction Eur. *Hipp.* 764 οὐχ ὀσίων ἐρώτων δεινὰι φρένας Ἀφροδίτας νόσῳ κατεκλάσθη (where see Barrett's n.); but there ἐρώτων has much more point in defining νόσῳ than πόνων has in relation to ἀλατεῖαις. No satisfactory emendation has yet been offered: best perhaps is Page's ὑπο for πόνων, though after ἀμαλαπτομέναν a bare instrumental dative would be more natural than ὑπὸ ἀλατεῖαις.

For the emphasis on Hera as the authoress of Io's troubles (a curious twist to the force of the *gnome*, κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτόν), see 591-2, 600.

**901-3** 'But for me, when marriage (is) equal (i.e. between equals), it brings no fear. I do not dread (it). But may love from more powerful gods not look upon me (with) inescapable gaze!' 901 μέν is implicitly answered by μηδέ... (though strictly μηδέ cannot serve for δέ μή...: *GP* 190-1). The reading of 901 is most uncertain. As it stands in the MSS, the sense is redundant, the asyndeton strange, and the metre unsatisfactory (υ υ υ - υ υ υ = dochmiac?; or ὄφθός οὐ δέδια μηδέ κρείσσωνων<sup>1</sup> = 2 cretics + iambic?, with an awkward number of syllables left for 903.) Many emendations have been proposed, none quite convincing. Page's ὄφθός ἐφ' is an improvement in sense and metre, but ἐφ' is rather unlikely for an abstraction such as γάμος.

**902-3** have also been much altered by editors who object to higher and lower degrees of divinity (κρείσσωνων θεῶν) or to the usage of δμμα. But the line is probably sound: κρείσσωνων θεῶν merely = τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (897); δμμα is internal (virtually cognate) accusative (see

Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 246) in a double-accusative construction similar to e.g. Eur. *Or.* 1020 . . . σ' ἰδοῦσα . . . πανυστάτην πρόσωπιν.

**904-5** ἀπόλεμος . . . πόλεμος 'a war that cannot be fought' (the same oxymoron at Eur. *HF* 1133); cf. 69n., and 921 δυσμαχώτατον.

ἔπορα πόριμος 'providing things that cannot be provided against', πόριμος having verbal force; cf. such phrases as Aesch. *Ag.* 1090 (στέγην) πολλὰ συνίστορα . . . κακά ('knowing many ills'), with Fraenkel's n. For the significance of πορ-, see 59n.

**905** τίς: τί would be more normal, and is possible here (hiatus with τί is admitted). The sense would be the same.

**906-6b** Cf. 552n.

### 907-1093: Exodus

This falls into two parts, the dialogue of P. and the *koryphaios*, in which P. continues to announce, with increasing boldness and vigour, Zeus' impending fall (907-40); and the arrival of Hermes, who vainly tries to persuade P. to give in and tell the secret of this marriage which threatens Zeus' rule (941-1093). The scene culminates in the engulfment of P. amidst the sound and fury of the elements.

### 907-40: Dialogue of Prometheus and the Chorus

As the Chorus' song about the perils of attracting Zeus' interest dies away, we expect the entry of another character: but again this is delayed (193-6, 436-525nn., Taplin 268). Meanwhile P. picks up the Chorus' final remark (906-7), and reminds them that Zeus is not so secure and powerful as he might appear: his habit of pursuing females of lower social rank (cf. 890!) will shortly prove his undoing (907-12). Only P. can save him from being overthrown as a result of such a 'marriage' (913-14); otherwise, he will produce an opponent yet stronger than himself (920-7). In a brief stichomythia (928-36), the Chorus anxiously question him further, but P. reaffirms his predictions, and expresses his complete lack of concern for anything that Zeus can now do to him (932-40). The humiliated, shackled victim of the tyrant's

wrath is now challenging and threatening him, in ever more strident defiance. Nobody can be quite sure (Chorus, Zeus, audience, perhaps not even P. himself) how much of what he predicts is certain and inevitable (Zeus *will* fall), how much contingent upon future decisions (Zeus *will* fall unless ...). Anger and desire for revenge are mingled with P.'s true prophetic insight. He is already savouring Zeus' downfall into slavery (927) and bondage (931), and for the moment is not interested in any alternative. Chorus and audience alike shiver at P.'s reckless challenge (935, 938-9; cf. 932): how will Zeus react?

**907-8** ἡ μὲν ἔτι Ζεύς ...: as at 167ff., 186ff., P. picks up the Chorus' last tremulous words about Zeus, and confidently refutes them (73n.).

αὐθάδης φρονῶν ... ταπεινός: P. applies to Zeus terms which have hitherto been used by others to criticize P. himself: to cease being 'wilful' (64-5n.) and be more 'humble' and docile (320n.). The variant αὐθάδῃ φρονῶν is possible, but weaker.

**908-9** οἶον = ὅτι τοιοῦτον: 'Such a marriage is he preparing ...', cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.347 οἶά μ' ἔοργας, etc. (cf. too 920). The present tense is striking, as if the process were already under way (unless we choose to take it as prophetic present, 'will prepare': but cf. 920-1).

**909-10** Although γάμος, antecedent to ὅς, is subject of ἐκβαλεῖ (cf. 764), we are doubtless to understand that it is the *son* who will overthrow Zeus (cf. 764n., 768, 920-5; also 948n.).

ἄιστον ἐκβαλεῖ proleptic (310n.), = ἐκβαλεῖ ὥστε ἄιστον γενέσθαι. Contrast 151 ἀιστοῖ, 232 ἀιστώσας, 668 ἐξαισιτώσει: in all three cases, it was *Zeus* who was planning to reduce others to 'oblivion'.

**910-12** ὀρά: this 'father's curse' receives no further mention in the play; nor do we hear of it anywhere else in ancient literature. If this is the first that the audience has heard of it, then it seems rather a casual and pointless mention: but curses in tragedy and epic are normally fulfilled, not arbitrarily invented and as soon forgotten; perhaps this one was already described in a preceding play (*P. Pyrrhikos*, see App. p. 284); this would also give more point to τότε ἤδη (911).

**913-14** Language and content recall earlier passages, in which P.'s

'escape from troubles' has been described as dependent on *Zeus* alone (182-5, 257-9, 755-6; see 98-100n.). Now the tables are turned (cf. 167-9 with n.). Once again, P. can proudly claim to be 'the only one of the gods' to perform a valuable service (cf. 234, 439-40, 467 with n.). N.b. the remote optative (914), as contrasted with the future indicatives of 908, 910, 911.

**915** τὰδ'...χθαί τρόποι (sc. κρανθήσεται, cf. 875): presumably referring mainly to 907-12, though the secret of 913-14 is also implied. The bald asyndeton emphatically rounds off his summary.

**915-17** πρὸς ταῦτα: cf. 992n.

πεδαρσίοις κτύποις | πιστός: (cf. 269 πεδαρσίοις with n.), 'trusting in his clatterings up in the sky', scornful and sarcastic (cf. 923).

πύρπνουν: for the contracted form, cf. 852 πλατύρρους, 1087 ἀντίπνουν; but contrast the more regular tragic formation 371 πυρπνόου, also of *Zeus*' thunderbolt (cf. 359).

**918** τὸ μὴ οὐ | πεσεῖν: cf. 787n. For the cognate accusative (πεσεῖν ... πτώματα) cf. 764, 909 (also 903, 977, 29n.).

**900-1** τοῖον: explaining 918-19 (cf. 908); so too the asyndeton is 'explanatory' (266n.).

παλαστήν: the metaphor is common, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 171 τριακτῆρος οἵχεται τυχών (of *Kronos*, who 'met with one who threw him three times (= *Zeus*), and is gone').

νῦν: i.e. by his present conduct towards P. Yet this line and 908 give us the impression that *Zeus* is already close to his disastrous marriage (cf. 939-40, 959 τάχιστα).

ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῶι: cf. 762n.

δυσμαχώτατον: an ironic twist to the ἀπόλεμος πόλεμος of 904?

**922-3** The lightning flash and the clap of thunder are *Zeus*' special weapons (e.g. 358-62, 916-17, 1082-4). For the genitive (of comparison, 857n.) after ὑπερβάλλοντα, rather than the more regular accusative (as 722), cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 475c ἄρα λύπηι ὑπερβάλλει τὸ ἀδικεῖν τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι.

**924–5** According to the MSS, lit. ‘And he will shatter the sea’s blight, shaker of the land, the trident, Poseidon’s spear’, rather an awkward expression. νόσον is very suspicious. In the parallel most often cited, Soph. *Ant.* 418–21, a whirlwind is described as θεία νόσος: but there the deleterious effect of the dust-storm on *people* is at issue (so too, at 596 above, νόσον has reference to people), whereas here a ‘marine pestilence’, meaning the power of the trident to cause or end storms, would be very strained. Perhaps a participle, such as νέμων (*Askew*) or λαβών, should be read instead; but no convincing emendation has been suggested.

The mention here of Poseidon puts us in mind of the competition between Zeus and Poseidon to marry Thetis, narrated by Pindar (*I.* 8.26ff., partly quoted in 768n.), which was only resolved when Themis told them ‘that it was ordained that the sea-nymph, if she lay with Zeus’ brothers, would bear . . . γόνον . . . δς κεραυνοῦ τε κρέσσον ἄλλο βέλος διώξει χερὶ τρίδοντός τ’ ἄμαιμακέτου. The verbal echoes are perhaps more than accidental (768 n., n.b. too ἄμαιμακέτου / 921 δυσμαχώτατον). Here of course it is Themis’ *son* who knows the secret, and there is no suggestion of a competition between Zeus and his brother, only that both will fall to the monster, who will thus succeed where the Titans and Typhoeus failed. (See further *Introd.* p. 5.) For αἰχμή implying ‘rule’, cf. 405 (and Aesch. *Ag.* 483).

**926** παίσας . . . πρὸς κακῶι (sc. Zeus): as of a ship ‘dashing against’ a reef, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 553a παίσαντα ὥσπερ πρὸς ἔρματι, and 885–6n.

**927** Contrast 49–50. (For τε . . . καὶ . . . here, see 555–6 with n.)

**928** σύ θην ἃ χρήζεις: best taken together, without punctuation, as *hyperbaton* for ἃ σύ θην χρήζεις: ‘These (evils) that you utter against Zeus are (merely) what *you* are hoping for’ (i.e. just wishful thinking). θην is an epic particle, roughly equivalent to δή. It is not found elsewhere in tragedy; but cf. Pind. fr. 203.1.

**929** τελεῖται: probably future, middle for passive (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 68, and 860–1n.), rather than prophetic present.

καί: adverbial, ‘also’, as 73; perhaps colloquial (Stevens 57)

**930** καί expresses surprise (cf. 253), 'so are (we) *really* to expect ...?' The Chorus are still half incredulous, despite 757ff. and 907ff. (930 virtually repeats the sense of 757.)

**931** καί...γ': see 254n.

δυσλοφωτέρους: perhaps literal, 'harder on the neck' (like a yoke, cf. Theogn. 848 ζεύγλην δύσλοφον ἀμφιτίθει, and 5n.); or else merely 'harder to bear'.

**932-4** Similar language, in similar context, to 311-14 (cf. 311-12n. on ῥίπτω; so too 934/313-14 and 1089-90n.). 933 is echoed in 1053: but contrast 753 (and *P. Lyomenos* fr. viii. 24 = 193N): immortality can be a bane or a boon; in P.'s present mood of defiance, he sees it as a source of frustration to Zeus.

**935** ὁδ' οὖν ποείτω: 'Well, let him do it, then!' For δ' οὖν, cf. 226 and e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 960-1 (Chorus) γελαῖ ... πολὺν γέλωτα | (Tecmessa) οἱ δ' οὖν γελώντων, 'Well, *let* them laugh ...' (For the prosody, ποείτω, see 237n., Griffith 82). The bold continuation of the line (similar in sense to 101-3), with its stark asyndeton and spitting alliteration (δ, π, τ, cf. 88-92n.) is utterly defiant.

**936** 'Those who pay due respect to Nemesis are wise.' The phrase προσκυνεῖν τὴν Ἀδράστειαν (or τὴν Νέμεσιν, or τὸν Φθόνον) is proverbial (e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 451a, Soph. *Ph.* 776), as a pious disclaimer before doing or saying something which might provoke divine anger (= Adrasteia, i.e. perhaps 'She-who-is-not-to-be-escaped', ἀ-διδράσκω; more or less identified with Nemesis). The Chorus are rightly fearful of the consequences of P.'s intransigent words (cf. 932, 934).

**937-40** In these four lines (193-6n.), P.'s fury rises to a peak, with scornful imperatives and sarcastic hyperbole. The last three lines are aimed at Zeus more than at the Chorus.

**937** See 56, 939-40nn.: P. has lost his temper with the Chorus, for the only time in the play (but cf. 392, to Ocean, in similar context), in disgust at the conventional piety and caution of 936.

ἀεί: probably 'whoever is in power', cf. 26 with n. (though this would normally be τὸν ἀεί κρατοῦντα): otherwise, to be taken with θῶπτε.

**938** ἔλασσον ... ἢ μηδέν: μηδέν, rather than οὐδέν, is regularly used of the abstract idea of nothingness (often with the definite article, τὸ μηδέν), e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 1325 τὸν οὐκ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἢ μηδέν. (Contrast 1013 οὐδενός with n.) Further discussion in Sikes and Willson *ad loc.*

**939-40** For the repeated imperatives, see 56n., 392, 937. P. is re-affirming, even more forcefully, his sentiments of 915-19, 935.

### **941-1093: Dialogue of Hermes, Prometheus, and the Chorus**

Hermes arrives, to find out on Zeus' behalf just what marriage P. means. He and P. exchange taunts, as P. refuses to divulge the secret (941-1013). Hermes describes additional torments which Zeus will send (1014-35), but, despite the Chorus' advice to give in (1036-9), P. remains defiant and challenges Zeus to do his worst. Then, despite Hermes' warnings (1054-62, 1071-9), the Chorus, in a sudden and uncharacteristic outburst of courage, express their determination to stand by P. (1063-70). The play ends with P.'s vivid, but unrepentant, description of the thunder, lightning, and whirlwinds that are beginning to surround him. His final words, like his first (88-92), appeal to the elements of Nature to witness his unjust treatment.

Hermes in this play is an unattractive figure, a calculating (997, 1000, 1013-16, 1071-9) and insensitive mouthpiece for Zeus. His arguments and attitude towards P. are in several respects similar to those of Kratos in the opening scene. P. treats him with contempt (941-2n.); the Chorus approve of some of his advice (1036-9), but finally reject his attempt to frighten them into abandoning P. (1063-70). The scene provides a shrill climax to the play, as P. directly confronts and threatens Zeus' authority, and prepares to face the worst that Zeus can do in return.

The structure and pacing of the scene are skilfully varied. First Hermes and P. present brusque, formal statements (944-52, 953-63; see 953-63n.). Then the tempo quickens as they exchange insults in *stichomythia* (two lines each 964-70, single lines 977-86; but see 964-87, 970nn.). Nothing is resolved, and P. reasserts his defiance



(987-97, 1001-6), provoking Hermes to a vivid rhesis in which he predicts new sufferings for P. (1007-35). This climactic moment of deadlock is marked by the intervention of the Chorus (1036-9), and then by the switch into anapaests for the vigorous activity of the *exodos* (1040-93n.). The scene draws together the main issues from previous Episodes, and points ahead to the sequel, in which the various predictions of P. and of Hermes must somehow be reconciled.

**941-2** ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε ... 'But (I say no more of this) for here I see ...', a common ellipse in drama ('so common in Euripides that it is virtually a formula', Taplin 269, cf. 148 n. 2) when a speaker is interrupted by a new arrival; see further Jebb on Soph. *OC* 788, *GP* 103-4. ἀλλὰ γάρ is not found in Aeschylus (*Th.* 861 is an interpolation); nor is any such announcement of one character by another, rather than by the Chorus (Griffith 118, Taplin 268-9).

Hermes (who presumably enters on foot up one *parodos*, since there is nothing in the text to suggest that he is using his winged sandals for an aerial entry) will have become visible to most of the audience a few moments before P. first sees him; so he may be thought to have witnessed P.'s last few remarks (cf. 937-40n., and 115, 128-92nn.).

τρόχιν...διάκονον 'errand-boy ... menial'. τρόχις (lit. 'runner') is found elsewhere only in Soph. *Inachus*, also of Hermes (fr. 269c Radt; see 561-886n., also Soph. *Ichneutae* 188 τρέχις?). διάκονος, διακονέω (cf. 962 ἐγκονέω) are regularly used of labour by slaves for masters, or by temple attendants for gods. Both terms would naturally be offensive to free men, let alone gods. P.'s contemptuous tone towards Hermes and his servile role is maintained throughout their dialogue (954, 983 ὑπηρέτης, 966 λατρεία, 987 καίς).

**943** πάντως 'certainly, doubtless'.

καινόν: here, as often, suggesting something strange or unpleasant (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 370, Soph. *Tr.* 873).

**944-6** σέ τόν σοφιστήν...λέγω: a peremptory and belligerent mode of address, in sharp contrast to the customary civilities of tragic dialogue (e.g. 18, 136, 589-90); cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1228 σέ τοι τόν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λέγω, Aristoph. *Frogs* 171, Eur. *Ba.* 912-13, etc. (Sometimes the accusative σέ is thus used without a governing verb, e.g. Soph. *Ani.* 441, Eur.

*Hel.* 546.) The taunts are by now quite familiar (62n. σοφιστήν; 178, 311-12n. ὑπέρπικρον; 8-9n. ἐξαμαρτάνοντα; 10-11, 83-4nn. θεούς / ἐφη-μέροις; 5, 8 κλέπτην, etc.). Strung together here, in apposition to σέ, and with repeated article (τόν), they recall (almost parody) 119-20, 304-5, (and cf. 612).

**πικρός ὑπέρπικρον:** an unusual expression, analogous to Homeric μέγας μεγαλωστί, perhaps 'only too severely (sc. 'to yourself') severe', or simply 'too severe by half'. Aesch. *Ag.* 215 ὀργᾷ περιόργως, if the text is sound, offers an even stranger parallel.

**τὸν ἐξαμαρτόντ'... πορόντα** 'the one who has done (is doing) wrong ... by providing', cf. 108.

**947 πατήρ:** 4n., 969.

**κομπεῖς:** cf. 360-1 with n.

**948 πρὸς ὧν... ἐκπίπτει** '(the marriage) by which he will be thrown out ...' (prophetic present, 171n.). For the virtual personification of γάμος, in similar relative clauses, cf. 764 γαμεῖ γάμον ... ὧι ποτ' ἀσχαλᾷ, 909 ... γάμον ... δς αὐτόν ... ἐκβαλεῖ. (For πρὸς + genitive with a non-personal agent or source, cf. 762 πρὸς ... βουλευμάτων; n.b. too 170.) πρὸς ὧν τ' in the MSS, '... to tell what marriage you are boasting of, and by whom he will ...', is not impossible (cf. 996); but the plural (ὧν) would be surprising after 920ff.

**949 καὶ... μέντοι** 'and what is more ...'. *GP* 413-14 'The combination ... is almost always progressive in meaning ... and is commonest in narrative, though it sometimes introduces a new point or argument' (as it does here): cf. 318-19n.

**μηδὲν αἰνικτηρίως:** 609-12n.

**950-1 αὐθ' ἕκαστα** 'every single thing as it is', i.e. 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth', as Eur. *Pho.* 494-5, *Or.* 1393, etc. (further examples in Groeneboom's n.). Hence αὐθέκαστος comes to be used to describe one who is blunt and truthful (Aristot. *NE* 4.7.1127 a23, etc.).

**μηδὲ... προσβάλῃς** 'don't cause me a second journey'. If P.'s reply is unsatisfactory, Zeus will send Hermes back to him again.

**φράζε:** the variant ἐκφράζε is possible, but ἐκφράζω (popular with later

rheticians) is not found elsewhere before the fourth century (Eur. HF 1119 is corrupt).

**952** τοιούτοις: probably neuter, 'such behaviour', rather than masculine. (For the scansion οἷ, see 237n.) Hermes' closing *gnome* (following Sophoclean enjambement, cf. 43n.) recalls the warnings of Kratos at 77-80 (79 μαλθακίζου, and 79-80n.), and e.g. Hephaestus 34-5, Ocean 310, 324.

**953-63** P.'s reply matches Hermes' speech point for point (12-35n.): H. '(a) You criminal! (944-6); (b) tell us the secret of the marriage which will overthrow Zeus (947-50); and (c) don't waste our time and energy, or you'll suffer for it (950-2)!' P. '(a) You upstart! (953-6); (b) I'll soon see Zeus overthrown (956-9); and (c) I'm not frightened of him; so you have wasted your time coming here (961-3)'.

**953** σεμνόστομός γε 'What a high and mighty speech . . . !' Word-order and particle (γε virtually 'exclamatory', GP 127-8) lend emphasis.

**954** ὡς θεῶν ὑπηρέτου 'for (lit. 'as coming from . . .') the gods' lackey'. Hermes is a herald: to call him ὑπηρέτης is an unfair, but effective put-down (cf. 941-2n., 966-9; also 49-50n.). Sikes and Willson well compare Eur. *Tro.* 424-6 ἡ δεινὸς ὁ λάτρις· τί ποτ' ἔχουσι τοῦνομα | κήρυκες; ἐν ἀπέχθημα πάγκοινον βροτοῖς | οἱ περὶ τυράννους καὶ πόλεις ὑπηρεταί (on which see K. H. Lee's nn.).

**955-6** νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε: cf. 35n., and Aesch. *Pers.* 782 νέος ἔτ' ὦν νέα φρονεῖ. For the *polyptoton*, see 29n.

ἀπενθῇ πέργαμ': the gods were traditionally supposed to live a trouble-free life in their palace on Olympus (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 6.42-6). πέργαμα is used in Homer only of Troy (Pergamum); and ancient grammarians (Eustathius 503.4, Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 1.95) regarded this as the original and proper usage. But later (and perhaps earlier, cf. P. Chantraine, *Dict. étym. lang. gr.* 958, s.v. πύργος) it was used of any strongly fortified acropolis.

**957** δισσοὺς τυράννους: Uranus (or possibly Ophion, as the scholiasts; see Ap. Rhod. 1.503-8), and Kronos (cf. 912).

**959** αἰσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα: the assonance lends a quasi-proverbial ring (as e.g. ‘willy-nilly’, ‘topsy-turvy’), cf. 480, 691, 891–2, 968n., and Aristoph. *Ach.* 756 ὅπως τάχιστα καὶ κάκιστ’ ἀπολοίμεθα. The bold prophecy, ‘I shall very soon witness the third one (sc. ἐκπίπτοντα) . . .’ is later to be proven false: but still the audience must feel a thrill of anticipation, or fear, or puzzlement (cf. 101–3, 192, 520, 873–4nn., and 940).

**959–60** Heavily sarcastic: ‘Perhaps I seem (247n.) rather (τι, 196n.) terrified and abject (29n.) . . . ?’

**961** πολλοῦ . . . ἐλλείπω: lit. ‘I lack much, in fact all (sc. ‘of such behaviour’), a vigorous and unusual expansion of the common idiom πολλοῦ γε δεῖ (‘far from it!’); cf. 1006 τοῦ παντός δέω, and 341 ἐλλείπεις, 1056 ἐλλείπει, and Stevens 19.

**963** ὧν = τούτων ἃ . . .: This attraction of the relative, after οὐδέν, (again at 984), is fairly common in Sophocles, less so in Euripides, and found nowhere in Aeschylus (Griffith 197–8).

**964–87** The structure of the stichomythia is unusual, though some of the asymmetry may be due to corruption (970n.). The acceleration, from the longer statements of 944–63, through 2-line, to 1-line stichomythia (977ff.), effectively brings out the rising anger and impatience on both sides (cf. *Introd.* p. 29); but the irregular alternations of 968–77 (2, 1, 1, 2, 1, 2, 1 . . .) seem pointless, and at odds with normal tragic practice (esp. Aeschylus); contrast 36–81, 377–92, 613–30.

**965** σαυτὸν . . . καθώρμισας: lit. ‘you brought yourself to anchor . . .’, i.e. ‘you ended up in . . .’ (cf. 183 κέλσαντα, with n.; but now the ‘harbour’ is itself a place of trouble, as at Soph. *OT* 422 τὸν ὑμέναιον ὃν . . . εἰσέπλευσα). P.’s bonds perhaps suggest to Hermes the ropes which hold a ship fast (cf. *P. Lyomenos* fr. viii.3 = 193 N). For the nautical image, cf. 643n.

This reading is almost certain. Of the alternatives, καθώρισας would require the change of 965 to τάσδ’ ἐς σαυτὸν (‘you ordained troubles for yourself . . .’); κατούρισας (‘you sailed on fair wind into . . .’) is a less suitable metaphor (despite the near-parallel of Aesch. *Th.* 690 ἵτω κατ’ οὖρον (sc. ‘into ruin’)). M has καθώ οσας.

**966** λατρείας: λάτρις, λατρεύω can be used of hired labourers, attendants, or slaves (Eur. *Trö.* 424-6 insultingly of a herald, cf. 954n.; three times in Soph. *Inachus*, again of Hermes (Sutton (561-886n.) 47, and Eur. *Ion* 4 Ἑρμῆν ... δαιμόνων λάτρην: n.b. too Theodectes, *TrGF* 72 F 3.1-2, as being unsuitable for one of divine birth); see 941-2n. To the sentiment of 966-7, Groeneboom aptly compares Milton, *PL* 1.263 'Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven'; contrast Achilles at Hom. *Od.* 11.489-91, and see too 49-50n.

**968** 'Yes (γάρ), of course (οἶμαι, heavily sarcastic) it is better to be slave to this rock (cf. 463) than ...'. Hermes plays on P.'s own choice of terms (cf. 36-87n.). Here n.b. too the variation of prosody λατρείας | λατρεύειν ('weak position', cf. *Introd.* p. 25 n. 75), and the pointed jingle πέτραι/πατρί (959n.).

**970** A very problematical line, although its general sense is clear enough. (ὕβριζοντας must be object, not subject of ὕβριζειν, *pace* Wilamowitz, Mazon, etc.) It seems that one line, or possibly more, has dropped out after 969, containing some insult against Hermes, to which 970 οὕτως refers. Otherwise no sense can be made of 970 as following on from 965-9. (οὕτως cannot refer all the way back to 966 λατρείας, as Sikes and Willson suggest.) This solution is supported by the greater symmetry in the stichomythia that results if P. is given two lines here: 964-70, 2-2; 971-6, 1-2 (cf. 36-81 with n.); 977-86, 1-1 (though this argument is not strong, since the stichomythia of *Prom.* is in any case curiously irregular, e.g. 377-92, 613-20, 980; see 383, 622-3nn., Griffith 136-42).

Other suggested solutions are unsatisfactory. Excision of 970 (Kiehl), (n.b. the silence of schol. A to 971a, p. 227 H.), interrupts the stichomythic exchange (unless P. speaks 968-9, as in the MSS: but πατρί and πιστόν are both quite inappropriate in his mouth). Transferring 970, to follow either 974 (Jones) or 973 (Dawe 179-80), and giving it to Hermes, would interrupt the otherwise very satisfactory sequence of thought of 971-6.

**971-3** χλιδάν...χλιδῶ; χλιδῶντας: unusually insistent repetition and *polyptoton*, even for such argumentative stichomythia (cf. 36-87n., and 342-3, 977-8). For the sentiment of 971 (P. 'revelling' in his

misfortunes), cf. 178–80, 436–7; for that of 972–3 ('may I see my enemies revelling thus!'), see 864 with n., and e.g. Soph. *Tr.* 819.

καὶ σὲ δ'...λέγω 'and I count you too amongst these'. καὶ...δέ is a common combination in prose, but rare in tragedy. Jebb on Soph. *Ph.* 1362 comments 'καὶ was the conjunction, while δέ "on the other hand" added the force of "also"'. For the opposite view (δέ being the connective and καὶ meaning 'also'), see Denniston on Eur. *El.* 1117, and *GP* 200–3.

**974** 'What (ἡ...γάρ, cf. 745n.)? Do you blame me too in some way (τι) for (this) calamity?' The genitive (συμφορᾶς) is the regular construction after a verb of accusation (Smyth §1375). Editors have generally adopted the *lectio difficilior* found in the MSS, συμφοραῖς (as a rather bold extension of the dative of cause, 'by reason of your misfortunes', cf. Eur. *Hel.* 79 ταῖς ἐκείνης συμφοραῖς ἐμὲ στυγεῖς, and Groeneboom's n. here). But the singular is more natural and normal, for a specific predicament (so 391, 758; see *Italie s.v.* συμφορά).

**975–6** ἐπλῶι λόγωνι...κτλ.: cf. 46n. Once again, P. insists that his hatred of Zeus and the new Olympian order is justified, since his own actions have merited better treatment from them (see 221–3, 439–40, 985, 1093; and for the phraseology, 120–2 and 37). In Aristoph. *Birds* 1547 (414 B.C.), presumably a parody of this, P.'s remark has less point: μισῶ δ' ἅπαντας τοὺς θεούς, ὥς οἶσθα σύ (cf. App. p. 284).

**977** σ' ἐγὼ responds to 974 ('you blame me...?') and 975–6 ('all you gods are abusing me...'): 'you sound crazy to me'. νόσον is variation for the cognate accusative (μανίαν), cf. 69 ὁρᾷς θέαμα and 918n.

**978** νοσοῖμ' ἂν 'I should (gladly) be (called) sick, if (it is) sickness to hate...', an ironically polite assent to 977 (Smyth §1824, rather than §1826), cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 928, Soph. *OT* 95 λέγοιμ' ἂν (with Jebb's n.). The formation νοσοῖμι (instead of νοσοίην) is very unusual for fifth-century Attic: see Jebb on Soph. *Ph.* 895; for the triple repetition of νοσ-, cf. 342–3, 971–2. P.'s moral dilemma, not unlike that of Soph.'s Ajax or Philoctetes (Knox), is here clearly presented: on the one hand, it is madness to hate Zeus and the rest of the gods; on the other, it is entirely normal and correct, by pre-Socratic Greek standards, to hate

one's enemies, and Zeus has proved himself to be an enemy indeed (see 999–1000, 1041–2nn.).

**979** P.'s uncompromising and self-indulgent behaviour (964, 971; cf. 64–5n.) seems 'unhealthy' to Hermes (977); were P. prosperous and powerful (καλῶς  $\simeq$  εὖ, as e.g. at Aesch. *Th.* 799), it would be 'insufferable'. So e.g. Aesch. fr. 398 N κακοὶ γὰρ εὖ πράσσοντες οὐκ ἀνασχετοί.

**980** (P.) 'Alas!' (Hermes) 'Zeus is not familiar with that expression.' The witty and pointed exchange gains force from the division of the trimeter between the two speakers (ἀντιλαβή, cf. *Introd.* p. 29): such division is not paralleled in Aeschylus, but grows quite common in later tragedy (Griffith 139). Some take οὐκ ἐπίσταται as 'does not recognize', i.e. 'is not moved by' (so Wecklein); then P.'s reply (981) 'wilfully misinterprets him to imply that Zeus does not know suffering' (Sikes and Willson *ad loc.*). But this is unnecessarily subtle, and requires an unlikely sense for ἐπίσταται (cf. 982, Aesch. *Ag.* 962, 1066, etc.).

There are, however, two suspicious features in this line: (i) the interruption of one-line stichomythia by this single, divided line is abrupt and rather strange (cf. 383, 742, 970?); (ii) the motive for P.'s exclamation or groan is obscure, since Hermes has not said anything especially distressing in 979. It is possible that Keck, Wilamowitz, and others are right in supposing that something has dropped out, along these lines: '(P.) Alas! That I should hear you talk of my prosperity! (H.) Alas? – that is a word that Zeus does not know.' But the repetition of ὦμοι would be very peculiar (what tone of voice would he use?). See further 964–87n.

**981** A commonplace, as e.g. Soph. *OC* 7 ... ὁ χρόνος ξυνῶν | μακρὸς διδάσκει (where ξυνῶν, 'coexisting with me', has some of the same personifying force as γηράσκων here; cf. Page on Eur. *Med.* 25). Further examples in Groeneboom's n.

**982** καὶ μὴν σύ γ' 'And yet *you* haven't learnt yet ...', i.e. time has not taught P. Here the combination of particles is adversative (*GP* 357); more often it is progressive (as 459) or confirmatory (as 246, 985?; see too 1080n.). Hermes' criticism recalls that of Ocean (309–10, 316ff.);

but perhaps 981–2 also suggest to the audience the possibility of P.'s acquiring σωφροσύνη in the future.

**983** '(You are right, cf. 388 γάρ) for (otherwise) I should not now be talking to σοῦ, a mere underling' (sc. because a true σώφρων would not thus waste his breath); cf. 941n.

**984** Cf. 963, with n.

**985** Two interpretations are possible: (i) heavily sarcastic, 'Yes, of course (καὶ μὲν, cf. 246n.), since I owe him so much, I should (be happy to) pay him back (sc. εἰ δυνάμην)'; or (ii) straightforward, 'And yet (καὶ μὲν, cf. 982n.) if I owed him any favour, I would return it' (ὀφείλων = εἰ ὀφείλον, or εἰ ὀφείλομαι). The first better suits the pointed character of this stichomythia (n.b. 986), and is offered by the scholiasts, though the second would be more natural Greek.

**986–8** Hermes, offended by P.'s insult (983), and perhaps by the heavy irony of 985, feels that he is being treated 'like a child' (so παῖδα, to judge from 987, and e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 277 παιδὸς νέας ὥς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας, Theognis 254). The alternative, 'slave', would fit with 983 (see 941n.), but not with 987–8.

Hermann's ὥστε (= ὥσπερ, cf. 452 with n.) is a more likely correction of the unmetrical ὥς than the variant ὥς παῖδ' ὄντα με, which would violate Porson's Bridge (Introd. p. 26) and also make this a literal statement ('on the grounds that I am a slave').

**989–91** The asyndeton is in explanation of the preceding statement (987–8; cf. 266n.). The echoes from earlier in the play (e.g. 175–7, 469–71, 148) emphasize that P.'s attitude, like his language, has not changed at all.

**992** πρὸς ταῦτα: lit. 'in the face of these (statements) ...', (cf. 1000 πρὸς). As often the phrase comes 'after an announcement of resolve, and before a defiant imperative' (Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 658); so again at 915, 1030, 1043. (For the abnormal short α before initial ρ-, see 713n.)

αἰθαλοῦσσα: either 'smoky' (as regularly in Homer), or 'blazing'. Hesiod also uses this epithet of the thunderbolt (αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,



*Th.* 72, 504, 707, 854), perhaps combining both senses. Adjectives in -αεις, -αεις, -ηεις are generally avoided in tragic dialogue, whether in their contracted form (as here) or uncontracted (*Soph. Ph.* 984 τολμήσατε, *Tr.* 308 τεκνοῦσσα, *OT* 1279 αἱματοῦσσα, *Eur. Tro.* 440 φωνήεσαν, none of them quite certain; and cf. *Prom.* 235 τολμῆς? with n.); see Jebb on *Soph. Ph.* 984, Griffith 83. The occurrence here may be under the influence of *Hes. Th.* 689ff. (esp. 697, 707; cf. 100 1080-93n.).

**993-4** λευκοπτέραι ... νιφόβη: for this image of a 'white-feathered blizzard', compare *Hdt.* 4.31 (in explanation of the Scythians' statement, 'The North is full of feathers') ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιών πτεροῖσι. That P. should challenge Zeus to let fly with fire and thunder would be natural enough, since these are his traditional weapons (358-9, 916-17); *now* might seem less obvious, but P.'s words are preparing us for the physical upheaval of all the elements (994, 1043ff., 1081ff.; cf. 88-92n.), above and below, hot and cold, dry and wet; and snowstorms are included, along with thunder and lightning, as violent manifestations of Zeus' power at *Hom. Il.* 10.5-7; cf. *Il.* 12.278-86, 15.170-2 (and possibly *Aesch. Th.* 211-13); further T. G. Rosenmeyer, *C.S.C.A.* 11 (1978) 209-25.

κυκένω ... καὶ ταρσαστέω (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς, cf. 990): almost a formulaic pair in everyday speech, to judge from *Aristoph. Peace* 320, *Ach.* 688, *Knights* 251, 692, *Cratinus* fr. 7.3 K.

**995** γνάμψει: once again the image of a stiff and unbreakable temper, whether Zeus' (cf. 164) or P.'s (237, 306, 512-13; n.b. too the literal uses at 32, 396); see 5, 164nn.

ὥστε καὶ 'to the point that I will actually say ...'

**996** χρεών: see 772n.

**997-8** ὅρα ... ὅπται ... βεβούλευται: (36-87n.) The perfect tenses of P.'s reply underline the finality of his decision; so e.g. *Plato, Crito* 46a ἀλλὰ βουλεύου, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι ἔτι ὅρα, ἀλλὰ βεβουλευσθαι. The forms ὀμμαι, ὀπται etc. are not otherwise attested before the fourth century; see Griffith 196-7.

**999-1000** τόλμησον ... τόλμησον 'bring yourself', to do something

worthwhile (in Hermes' view), but probably distasteful to P.; see 14n. For the *anadiplosis*, cf. 266n.

ποτε 'finally, eventually', cf. Soph. *Ph.* 816 μέθες ποτέ, 1041.

πρός 'in the face of' (LSJ *s.v.* C III 5); cf. 992n.

ὀρθός: once again, a loaded term, from an unreliable source (cf. 30 πέρα δίκης, with n.; also 385-6, 507). Here, and at 1012-13, 1034-5, and especially 1036-9, the audience is faced squarely with the question whether P.'s conduct is morally, or practically, appropriate. The answer remains unclear; cf. 978, 1007-35, 1093nn.

**1001** 'You are importuning me to no avail, as if talking to a wave.' The sea, or a rock, is a common image for 'deaf ears', as e.g. at Eur. *Andr.* 537 ἄλιαν πέτρην | ἢ κύμα λιταῖς ὥς ἱκετεύων, Lycophr. 1452 εἰς κύμα κωφὸν βάζω, Eur. *Med.* 28, etc. (see too 242n.). Some editors take ὀχλεῖς absolutely (as at Soph. *OT* 445); it is better that με be governed by both verbs. (It would be quite natural to take κύμα as nominative, 'You keep talking at me like a wave (beating vainly against a rock', cf. 242); but the more familiar image is preferable.)

**1002** εἰσελθέτω σε μήποθ' ὥς ... 'Let it never enter your head that ...' (see LSJ *s.v.* εἰσέρχομαι VI 2, and Eur. *IT* 1340, *IA* 57, etc.).

**1003-6** θηλύνους ... γυναικομίμοις: any compromise, caution, or change of heart is still viewed as shameful surrender (79-80n.), and characterized as birdlike (29n.), servile (908 ταπεινός, 936-7, 966-7), or effeminate (cf. 188, 379, 1008). The three-word trimeter (1005) adds weight to P.'s scornful tone (113, 362nn.).

μέγα: cf. 647 μέγ' εὐδαιμον, with n.

ὑπτιόσμοσιν χερῶν: in praying to the gods above, the ancients extended their hands with palms upturned (in Latin, *manibus supinis*, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4.205, Horace, *Od.* 3.23.1).

τοῦ παντός δέω: cf. 961n.

**1007-35** In a carefully constructed rhesis, expanding on 999-1000, Hermes spells out to P. the painful consequences of his stubbornness. After criticizing P. for his unruly attitude (1007-10), and insisting that it is based on misconceived ideas (1011), he states his main point in gnomic form (1012-13): αὔθαδία without εὐβουλία is useless (cf. 1000

ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν, 1030 βούλευε, 1034 φρόντιζε, 1035 εὐβουλίας). As supporting argument (307-29n.) he adduces the two further stages of punishment which await P. (cf. 1016-19, 1020-5nn.; also 1026-9n.), and he rounds off his speech (n.b. ring-composition, 1030-5/1008-13) with repeated advice to 'think carefully'. Thus the speech serves both to prepare us for the sequel to this play (App. pp. 281-3) and to raise more explicitly the question, on which side (if either) is 'good sense' now to be found? Is P.'s αὐθαδία misguided? (Cf. 18, 999-1000, 1036-9nn.) Hermes is an unattractive character (941-1093n.): but he is Zeus' herald, and, like Kratos, he is no fool.

**1007** πολλὰ καὶ μάτην: best taken together, with ἐρεῖν, (as in Aesch. *Eum.* 144 ἢ πολλὰ δὴ παθοῦσα καὶ μάτην ἐγὼ, and Soph. *OC* 1565). '(If I go on) speaking, it looks as if I will (end up) talking at great length but to no purpose.'

**1008-9** τέγγῃ 'you are (in no way, οὐδέν, cf. 44, 1056-7n.) softened' (see 1003-6n., and LSJ s.v. II, with Eur. *Hipp.* 302-3 οὔτε γὰρ τότε | λόγοις ἐτέγγεθ' ἦδε νῦν τ' οὐ πείθεται).

λιταῖς: Hermes' orders (944-52, 999-1000) have actually little resembled 'pleas' or 'prayers'; cf. 1014, 1071.

ἐμαῖς: it is not uncommon to find the possessive pronoun adjective in this position in the trimeter without any special emphasis, as e.g. 1019 τὸ σόν, Aesch. *Eum.* 438, 650 (see further Headlam 10-11). There is therefore no need to follow Porson and Hermann in emending to μαλθάσσηι κέαρ | λιταῖς, omitting ἐμαῖς. (The unmetrical reading of O which suggests this emendation is doubtless due to contamination from 379 μαλθάσσηι κέαρ.)

**1009-1010** 'but you have taken the bit between your teeth like a newly-harnessed colt, struggling and fighting against the reins', cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1223 ἐνδακοῦσαι στόμια (and fr. 821), Plato, *Phaedr.* 254d ἐνδακὼν τὸν χαλινόν: once again, the image of harnessing (5n.). In comparing P. to a young and headstrong animal, Hermes recalls Ocean at 323 - but also earlier descriptions of Zeus' behaviour (35, 79-80nn., *Introd.* p. 21).

**1011** 'But your eagerness is based on unsound strategy' (for σόφισμα, cf. 62, 459nn.).

ἀτάρ covers as broad a range as δέ, but is normally adversative in Attic, as here (and 341). It is common in Euripides and Aristophanes, rare in Aeschylus (only *Pers.* 333) and Sophocles (see Griffith 179): perhaps 'it was felt to be colloquial in tone, and was consequently avoided in formal dialogue' (*GP* 51, cf. Stevens 44-5.). In the combination ἀτάρ ... γε, like ἀλλὰ ... γε, 'γε serves to define more sharply the new idea introduced' (*GP* 119); here it seems to emphasize ἀσθενεῖ, which is then explained in 1012-13.

**1012-13** Lit. 'Wilfulness (64n.) by itself, for someone not thinking properly (contrast 1000 ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν) has strength superior to none', i.e. 'is utterly useless'. (On αὐτήν or αὐτήν, see 762n.) For the expression οὐδενὸς μείζον, where we might expect the more regular 'less than nothing' (hence Stanley's unnecessary conjecture μείον), compare Eur. *Andr.* 726 μηδενὸς βελτίονες, Plato, *Prot.* 335a; and for the whole gnomic statement, cf. Soph. *OT* 549-50 εἴ τοι νομίζεις κτήμα τὴν αὐθαδίαν εἶναι τι τοῦ νοῦ χωρὶς, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖς.

**1014** σκέψαι δ' introduces specific arguments in support of the preceding general statement (307-29, 1007-35nn.); the same formula at Soph. *OT* 584, Eur. *Supp.* 476.

**1015** χειμῶν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία: κακῶν goes (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ) with both nouns (458n.). For the metaphor, see 563, 643nn. τρικυμία was originally 'a group or series of three waves', then regularly used of 'a giant wave', from the popular belief that every third wave was larger (perhaps combined with the common use of τρίς, τρι- as an intensive, τρίς μάκαρ, κτλ.; so Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1213-14). Blomfield *ad loc.* quotes numerous later examples; modern Greek still uses τρικυμία for 'storm'. (For the Romans, it was the tenth wave; for us, the seventh.) Here the expression is almost literally true: cf. 1048 κύμα, and 1085ff.

**1016-19** From these lines it appears that P. is to sink, still fastened to his rock (1019), into a chasm blasted out by Zeus' thunderbolt (a fate reminiscent of Typhos', cf. 361-5). In that case, P.'s later mention of 'Tartarus' is hyperbolic (1050-1, cf. 1026-9n.). But many commentators assume that P. is indeed to be plunged into Tartarus itself (where his punishment is located by e.g. Horace, *Epod.* 17.67, *Od.* 2.13.37) and that we have here a combination of the two different versions.

ὀκρίδα: adjectival, = ὀκριόεσαν (cf. 281).

πετραία... βαστάσει: the rock to which P. is fastened will envelop him and hold him tight. ἀγκάλη (usually in the plural) is elsewhere used metaphorically of the 'embrace' of the sea (e.g. Archil. fr. 213 West κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις, Aesch. *Cho.* 587, Aristoph. *Frogs* 704) or of the air (Eur. fr. 941 γῆν... πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὕγραϊς ἐν ἀγκάλαις).

**1020-5** In the next stage of P.'s punishment, which will begin 'a great length of time' later (1020) (though not, we know, more than thirteen generations, 774n.), he will be restored to the daylight (1021), still in chains, and will be subjected to the torture of an eagle constantly eating out his liver. This punishment (which is still taking place at the opening of *P. Lyomenos*, see App. fr. viii) is already familiar to us from Hes. *Th.* 523-5. A similar punishment (with two vultures and no rock) was assigned to Tityus in the Underworld (Hom. *Od.* 11.578-9, etc.; for discussion of the relationship between the two, see West on Hes. *Th.* 523-33, with further references; West follows A. Olrik in concluding that the Greeks were adapting an old folk-tale from the Caucasus). The idea of birds or wild beasts tearing a criminal's body, alive or dead, is not wholly fanciful (26n.); and the liver was an obvious target – accessible, tasty, and painful (n.b. Hecuba in Hom. *Il.* 24.212-13 μέσον ἥπαρ ἔχοιμι | ἐσθέμεναι).

**1021-2** τοι: almost 'mark my words', emphasizing the threat (*GP* 540, and cf. 8). δέ τοι is quite a common (and, here, appropriate) combination (*GP* 552): σοι (in three MSS) has little to recommend it.

Διὸς... κύων: cf. 803 Ζηνὸς... κύνας, with n.

δαφινός: i.e. ζα-φινός; three interpretations are possible, (i) 'blood-red', i.e. a golden eagle (cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.308 δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφινός, Eur. *Alc.* 581, LSJ s.v. φοινίκεος); (ii) 'blood-spattered' (cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.159 παρήιον αἵματι φοινόν, LSJ s.v. φοίνιος ii); (iii) 'bloodthirsty' (cf. Hes. *Sc.* 250 κῆρες... δαφινοί, LSJ s.v. φοίνιος ii 2). All three are appropriate, and there is no need to restrict the meaning here to any one.

**1023-4** A vivid mixture of metaphors (cf. 1025n.): lit: 'will butcher great tatters of your body', i.e. tear it to shreds (ράκος proleptic, 309-10, 910nn.). Similar phrases are found in Aristophanes, e.g. *Clouds* 442 ἐμὸν σῶμα... παρέχω... ἄσκον δαίρειν ('to flay into a wineskin'), *Ach.* 300-1

ὄν κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεύσι καττύματα ('I shall slice (him) up into sandals for the Knights').

The lengthening by position before initial ρ- (μεγᾱ) is orthodox, though less common in tragedy than in Homer (Griffith 82); initial rho is normally equivalent to two consonants, being simplified from an original στ- or ϕτ- (whereas in mid-word, -ρρ- is usually retained, e.g., περίρρυτος, καλλιέρροος, ἔρρεον, but ῥόος, ῥέω. See further Smyth §80a, A. Meillet and J. Vendryes, *Traité gramm. comp.* §53, 61, 71.111). ῥάκος is probably derived from \*φράκος (cf. Aeolic βράκος). Contrast 712-13n.

**1024** πανήμερος 'all day long' (cf. Homeric πανῆμαρ, πανημέριος; also παννύχιος), rather than 'every day', since the eagle is to come every other day (*P. Lyomenos* fr. VIII.10 = 193 N). N.b. too Hes. *Th.* 525 πρόπαν ἡμαρ.

**1025** The sonorous three-word trimeter (113, 362nn.) rounds off the rolling period of 1021-5, and caps the sardonic metaphor (1023 'carve', 1024 'uninvited dinner-guest', 1025 'will sup his fill').

κελαινόφρων: the scholiasts are probably right to explain this unusual formation as meaning 'blackened from gnawing' (proleptic, see 309-10n., 1023), like any half-eaten piece of offal, dark from exposure to the air and from dried blood. Herwerden's change to κελαινόχρωτον (= simply 'dark-coloured' or 'dark-fleshed', cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 785 κελαινόχρως ... καρδία) is much less interesting.

**1026-9** P. may not expect relief until another god 'takes over' his toils (1027) and agrees to descend into Tartarus (1029). Hermes perhaps intends this as an *adynaton* (1027-9n., cf. 27n.), but by unconscious irony describes exactly what will indeed happen. For we are surely supposed to recognize in 1027-9 either the centaur Chiron (son of Kronos and the nymph Philyra, hence θεῶν τις, as at Soph. *Tr.* 714), who, afflicted with an incurable wound from one of Heracles' arrows, volunteered to surrender his immortality; or Heracles himself, who undertook 'labours' of his own (1027, cf. 872 with n.), including descent into the Underworld to fetch Cerberus. See further App. p. 302, fr. xv n.

**1026-7** ... μόχθου τέρας μὴ ... πρὶν ἔν ...: by now almost formulaic (98-100, 755-6, 913-14, 174-5nn.).

**1027–9** θεὸν τις διάδοχος ... βέβη: an obviously absurd idea, to Hermes' mind. It would be more natural for him to say, 'Until one of the gods agrees to be chained here and have his liver eaten' (as Terence, *Andr.* 199–200, to a slave, 'I'll beat you within an inch of your life, Davus, and put you in the mill-house, on the solemn understanding that, if I ever let you out, I'll do the milling in your place!' quoted by Schütz). After all, P. will not at this point be in Tartarus at all (1016–19n.). The fact that Hermes picks these unlikely details instead, alerts the audience to the prospect of their (ironically) turning out to be true (1026–9n.).

**1030–1** πρὸς ταῦτα βούλευ': (992n.) cf. 1000 ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν, 1012 φρονοῦντι, 1034 φρόντιζε, 1035 εὐβουλίας (even 1079 ἀνοίας). Hermes reminds us a little of Ocean and his 'didascalical' manner (322–4n., 335–6).

οὐ πεπλασμένος ... ἀλλὰ ... ἐτήτυμος 'no made-up boast, but all too true'. For πλάσσω in this sense (like Latin *finigo*, whence our 'fiction'), cf. Soph. *Aj* 148 λόγους ψιθύρους πλάσσων, and LSJ s.v. v; cf. too 686 συνθέτους λόγους. For καὶ λίαν, cf. Hom. *Od.* 1.46, 13.393, etc., and 123n. καὶ λίαν εἰρημένος in the MSS would need to mean either (i) 'all too *truly* spoken' (so e.g. Paley), which demands too much of λίαν; or (ii) 'only too *definitely* spoken' (sc. 'by Zeus' as opposed to 'invented by Hermes', so Sikes and Willson; or sc. 'and therefore irrevocable', so Weil). Neither of these ellipses is satisfactory; and 1032 γάρ requires a word in the preceding line meaning 'true'. Hartung's ἐτήτυμος is the most likely, cf. Dinarchus 99.35; Eur. *Or.* 1667, Plato, *Rep.* 485e, and Thomson's n. (on his 1063), (also 293–5 ὡς ἔτυμα). The corruption may have arisen from the presence of (πεπλασ) μένος above; see further W. G. Headlam, *C.R.* 12 (1898) 189. Of other possibilities, καιρίαν (Maas) or καιρίως εἰρημένος would mean 'spoken *apropos* for the occasion', rather than 'truly'; cf. 1036. Page's ἀλλ' εὐ καὶ λίαν εἰρημένος puts too much strain on εὐ.

**1032–3** For this *gnome*, cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.326–7 (spoken by Zeus himself) οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν | οὐδ' ἀτέλευτον, Theognis 142, and Zeus as τέλειος, e.g. at Aesch. *Supp.* 524–6, *Ag.* 973 with Fraenkel's n. (Cf. too 511.) For the expression, cf. 980 οὐκ ἐπίσταται, 619 τὸ Δῖον, with nn.



**1033-5** σὺ δὲ|πάπταινε: cf. 334 πάπταινε, and 43n.

**φρόντιζε κτλ.:** In his final words to P. (1054-62n.), Hermes emphatically (and gnomically) restates his main point (echoing his earlier words, cf. 1007-35, 1030-1nn.). By ἀμείνονα, he means 'preferable' or 'more effective' (cf. 997 ἀρωγά, and 1039 with n.); but P. is aware that his αὐθαδία has its own value (64-5, 1041-2nn.). Both ἀμείνον' (agreeing with αὐθαδίαν) and ἀμεινον (neuter, as in Aesch. *Supp.* 190 κρείσσον δὲ πύργου βωμός) would be good Greek; the former is more regular.

**1036-9** The Chorus' four-line comment (193-6n.), rounding off the iambic part of this final scene (1040-93n.), expresses surprisingly firm support for Hermes' view, even to the extent of echoing his key words (αὐθαδίαν, εὐβουλίαν, also σοφήν, σοφῶι, πιθοῦ, cf. 1011, 1014); see 472-5n., and contrast 1063-70n.

**1036-7** ἡμῖν μὲν 'to us, for our part ...', so-called μὲν *solitarium*, the contrasting idea being left unexpressed; it is particularly common with personal pronouns and in expressions of opinion, as here (*GP* 380-1; cf. 1n.).

**οὐκ ἄκαιρα ... λέγειν:** variation of the conventional λέγειν τὰ καίρια (as e.g. Aesch. *Th.* 1, Soph. *OC* 808, App. fr. 1).

**1039** Once again, P. is criticized for 'failure' (ἐξαμαρτάνειν, 9n.) to make effective use of his σοφία (cf. 1011, and 62n.). Since ancient Greek moral terms are mainly intellectual (e.g. εὐφρονεῖν, σωφρονεῖν, νοῦς), lack of εὐβουλία, resulting in error, amounts to 'shameful' and morally reprehensible behaviour (cf. 472-5, 1041-2n.).

**1040-93** **Metre:** anapaests. The change from iambic to anapaestic dialogue quickens the pace and raises the emotional temperature; it also suggests immediately to an audience that the end of the play is near (cf. the endings of e.g. Soph. *Aj.*, *Tr.*, *Ph.*, Eur. *Med.*, *El.*, *Or.*, *Ba.*, and 120-7, 877-86nn., Griffith 113-15). The transition from one metre to the other is made smoothly, with the help of the Chorus' intervention (1036-9), to which P. replies directly (cf. 92-3, 119-20, with 88-127, 120-7nn.), and the final scene, though tense and urgent, is strictly controlled and symmetrical; we have five speeches, of closely responding



lengths, in chiasmic order (1040-53 P. = 28 metra; 1054-62 H. = 18; 1063-70 Chorus = 15; 1071-9 H. = 18; 1080-93 P. = 27. Some editors have emended one or other of P.'s speeches to produce exact 'responsion': but this is not to be expected in recitative anapaestic systems, cf. 136-92, and Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1521ff.).

**1040-53** P.'s defiant retort (to the Chorus, but directed largely at Hermes), that Zeus should do his worst, echoes and further develops that of 992-6. It also makes an impressive contrast to Io's feeble pleas at 582-3, which used similar language and images in begging Zeus for release, however violent, from her troubles (582n.). See further 1080n.

**1040-1** εἰδότει ... ἐθούζεν: cf. 441-3n. (also 277-8, 393). The Fore-thinker cannot be surprised or impressed by any predictions (101-3n., Introd. pp. 16-19).

**1041-2** οὐδέν ἀεικές: in response to 1039 αἰσχρόν. 'It is in no way disgraceful that a foe be mistreated by his foes' (since this is natural, and beyond his power to prevent; cf. 978n.). Here ἀεικής is used in the subjective, moral sense ('shameful'), rather than the objective and legal ('insulting, outrageous'; cf. 93n.). P. can still call Zeus' treatment of him 'shameful' (i.e. an outrage, αἰκεία); but he denies that any 'shame' (i.e. moral blame) attaches to himself, as the Chorus have suggested.

**1043-4** πρὸς ταῦτ' ... βιπέσθω μὲν: repeated from 992. (N.b. too 993 βροντήμασι / 1045 βροντήι.)

ἀμφήκης regularly, when used of a sword or axe, means 'two-edged'; here, of the thunderbolt (as Cleanthes, *Hymn* 10 ἀμφήκη ... κεραυνόν), it may mean 'with twin points', i.e. 'forked' (cf. 692 with n., and the root ἄκη); or simply 'pointed at both ends' (see LSJ s.v. ἀμφίπυρος, and Eur. *Ion* 212 κεραυνὸς ἀμφίπυρος). See A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II.1 (Cambridge 1925) 764-85 with illustrations.

βόστρυχος: cf. 1083-4 ἑλικες ... στεροπῆς ζάπυροι ('fiery curls') and e.g. Bacchyl. 16.56 πυριέθειραν ἀστράπην. Compare πώγωνιας (lit. 'bearded star') = 'comet', and Aesch. *Ag.* 306, Eur. fr. 836 πώγωνα πυρός.

**1045-6** σφακέλῳ ... ἀνέμων 'with a convulsion of fierce winds', cf. 878

σφάκελος with n., as if the winds were wild animals, cf. 1085-6 with n., and 155 ἀγρίως.

**1046-7** ἐκ πυθμένων 'Let the wind shake the earth from its very foundations, roots and all.' Tartarus (Pind. fr. 207) and the sea both have their own πυθμήν, 'floor' (Hes. *Th.* 932, with West's n.); here the plural implies 'supports, foundations'. But trees too have their πυθμένες; see next n.

αὐταῖς ῥίζαις: (sociative dative, 219-21n.). The γῆς ῥίζαι are familiar from Hesiod (see West on *Th.* 728, in a passage comparable to this, cf. 1080-93n.: 'in origin [the metaphor] is perhaps derived from the idea of the world as a tree', with further references. See too his n. on *WD* 19.)

πνεῦμα: Rose suggests that an underground wind is meant, as in Aristotle's (*Meteor.* 2.365b 35ff.) and Lucretius' (*DRN* 6.557ff.) accounts of earthquakes; but more likely the image is rather that of a tree being shaken and almost uprooted.

**1048-53** συγχώσειεν ... ῥίψει ... θανατώσει: the subject (or subjects) of these verbs is ambiguous. With the reading adopted here for 1049, κύμα is subject of συγχώσειεν, while Ζεὺς is supplied mentally for the other two verbs (see 1053n.). Thus the progression parallels that of 992ff.: from a vaguely impersonal 3rd person passive imperative (992 = 1043 ῥιπτέσθω, 1045 ἐρεθιζέσθω) to an active 3rd person, with Zeus as implied subject (994 κυκάτω, ταρασσέτω, 1051 ῥίψει), and finally a negative future indicative (995 γνώμψει ... οὐδέν, 1053 οὐ θανατώσει). The agency of Zeus is thus taken for granted throughout (cf. 1080-90 with n.). If τ' is retained after τῶν (1049), then πνεῦμα (or possibly Zeus: so Rose) is subject of συγχώσειεν (with κύμα as object) and ῥίψει. This seems to give too much prominence to the role of *wind* overall (1045-52), as well as unsatisfactory sense to διναις (1052n.).

**1049-50** συγχώσειεν ... διόδους: συγχώννυμι ('heap together', hence 'block up' or 'ruin') and συγχέω ('pour together', hence 'confound' or 'ruin') are used almost interchangeably: thus Hdt. 7.115.3 ὁδὸν ... συγχέουσι, but 8.71.2 ... συγχώσαντες ... ὁδόν. Here too the difference would be slight: 'let the wave(s) (rise until they) block (or 'bury'?, as the scholiasts' gloss, συγκαλύψειεν) the passages ...' For the commingling (usually only imagined, but soon here to be only too real, cf. 1080n.) of

sea and sky, there are numerous Latin parallels, e.g. Lucr. *DRN* 3.842 *terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo* (with Heinze's n.); it was indeed proverbial, cf. 1088n.

**1050–2** *Τάρταρον*: conventional hyperbole, as Eur. *Hipp.* 1290–1 *πῶς οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆς τάρταρα κρύπτεις δέμας αἰσχυνθείς*; (see 152–5, 1016–19 with nn.)

*ἄρδην*: perhaps used loosely here (as often) to mean 'utterly, all the way', with no real sense of 'up' (*αἶρω*); alternatively, 'pick me up and hurl me . . .', like a wrestler (so Rose).

*ἀνάγκης στερραῖς δίναις* 'in tough whirlings of compulsion', a curious mixture of metaphors: but both *στερρός* ('hard', hence 'harsh', cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1295 *στερρὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκη*) and *δίνη* (cf. LSJ s.vv. *δινεύω*, *δινέω*, 'whirl', hence, intransitively, 'circle, roam') are somewhat faded as metaphors. (On *ἀνάγκη*, here virtually personified, see 514–15, with nn.) The whole phrase recalls 885–6, especially *κύμασιν ἄτης*.

**1053** (Cf. 933 with n.) By now it is clear that the subject is Zeus (1048–53n.).

**1054–62** Hermes has ceased addressing himself vainly to P., and now turns to warn the Chorus that they should abandon him to his fate.

**1054** *τῶν φρενοπλήκτων*: (genitive of source), cf. 878 *φρενοπληγεῖς* with n., and 133–4n.

**1055** *ἔστιν*: 'Whether *ἔστι* is orthotone (*ἔστι*) or enclitic depends solely on its position: *ἔστι* when initial (or quasi-initial . . .), otherwise *ἔστι*', Barrett, Eur. *Hipp.* pp. 425–6. Here, although not initial in its rhetorical clause (1054–5), *ἔστιν* is first word in the metron, and therefore cannot be enclitic (otherwise there would be no true diaeresis between metra, cf. 295n.).

**1056–7** Lit. '(In) what (respect) does this one's bold speech fall short of striking amiss?' For the construction, cf. 627, 786–7 with nn. (also for the uncertainty of reading, *μή* or *μή οὐ*). For *ἐλλείπει*, cf. 341, 961.

*τί . . . τί*: internal (= 'adverbial') accusatives; compare 196 *τι* with n.,

47, 179, 1008 οὐδέν, 44 μηδέν etc. (83 τι is different, an external accusative.)

**παραπαίειν**: the metaphor is from lyre-playing ('mis-strike' = 'sound out of tune' = 'be mad'); but cf. 581 παράκοπον with n., and 1054 φρενοπλήκτων; also 885 παίουσι.

**ἡ τοῦδ' εὐχή**: this emendation of Winckelmann's is almost certain. The MSS read εὐτυχῇ or εὐτυχεῖ (impossible metrically in anapaests), preceded by εἰ/ῆ τοῦδ' or εἰ τάδ' (whence Jacobs conjectured the possible, but palaeographically less likely, εἰ τάδ' ἔτ' αὐχεῖ). See further Sikes and Willson *ad loc.*

**χαλδαίμανιών**: cf. 256 χαλδαί κακῶν, and 176n. Presumably εὐχή is subject, though P. might be substituted.

**1058** ἀλλ' οὖν 'But in any case ...' The combination (not found before Aeschylus) is often used, as here, 'approaching δ' οὖν or ἀλλὰ γάρ in sense, signifying ... a break-off in thought, a resumption of the main issue' (*GP* 443); cf. 941–2n. 'Very frequently γε follows at a short interval, denoting that the idea is to be emphatically accepted in a limited sphere' (*GP* 441–2): so here, 'as for *you* ...' (See too 1071n.)

**1058–9** αἰ...συνκἀμνουςαι...τοῦδε: cf. 414, 162n. The interlocking word-order (with *hyperbaton* and enjambement) reinforces the sense of a bond between the Chorus and P. (see 137–40n.).

**1059–60** μετὰ...χωρεῖτε: *tnesis* (133–4n.). The alliteration of these lines (θ, τ) adds to the tone of urgency and menace (88–92n.).

**1061** φρένας ... ἡλιθιώσῃ 'shock you out of your wits', cf. Homeric φρένας ἡλεέ ('foolish of mind', e.g. *Il.* 15.128, with W. Leaf's n.).

**1063–70** The Chorus scornfully reject Hermes' advice, and announce their readiness to stay and suffer with P. This sudden and quite unexpected display of courage and defiance (contrast their attitude at 1036–9, and e.g. 898–9n.) serves to align the audience's sympathies all the more strongly with P. – at the cost, perhaps, of some consistency in characterization and motivation (Introd. p. 11, Griffith 135, 144); see further 1067, 1080–93nn.

**1065** *παρέσυρας*: an unusual metaphor, of uncertain sense: either '(this speech which) you swept (over us)', like a raging torrent sweeping debris along with it (see LSJ *s.v.*, especially Aristoph. *Knights* 527-8 quoted there); or, as most commentators (and LSJ) prefer, '(which) you dragged in', sc. 'where it does not belong', for which no parallel use of *παρασύρω* can be found. A third possibility is suggested by Rackham *ad loc.*: 'Perhaps the idea is that of trailing a bait or net (so *σύρω*) past the victim, *παρα-* possibly having the additional connotation of leading astray' (so the schol., *παρήγαγες*).

**1066** 'How can you bid me practise cowardice?', cf. LSJ *s.v.* *ἀσκέω* II 2.

**1067** *μετὰ τοῦδ'*: *μετά* + genitive singular is very rare before Herodotus (not in Homer, or Pindar; only perhaps Hes. *Th.* 392, and 401), as the original sense of 'among' was still felt (see LSJ *s.v.*, Wackernagel (123n.) 2.242-3, Griffith 192).

*χρή*: cf. 772n.

*ἐθέλω*: as usually, of consent rather than desire (LSJ *s.v.*), cf. 177, 1028. It is not clear from the text of *Prom.* what does in fact happen, in fact or in imagination, to the Chorus after this. Many critics have supposed that they now cluster round P. (perhaps deserting the *orchestra* to do so, cf. 128-92n.) and are plunged with him below the earth, as *μετὰ τοῦδε* would naturally suggest. But this involves considerable problems: (i) How could such a mass engulfment be staged (1080n.)? (ii) When and how are we to think of the Oceanids being released, to resume their functions as water-nymphs? 1021 does not apply to them. (iii) Would it not in any case be inappropriate for so many innocent by-standers to share a punishment specially aimed at Zeus' bitterest enemy?

For these reasons, it is better to assume (in accordance with the Chorus' cautious disposition, as manifested up until this point; cf. 1036-9n.) that their readiness to suffer with P. is never put into action, nor really put to the test at all: the earthquake and whirlwind sweep him away before they can move to join or abandon him. (See further 1080-93n., and Griffith 135, 144, with references.)

**1068-70** Contrast the behaviour of the Chorus' father, though his

words at first suggested a similar spirit to this (296–7, with n., and 284–396n.).

**νόσος**: cf. 225, 632n.

**ἀπέκτυσα**: ‘instantaneous’ aorist (181n.), particularly common with verbs expressing approval or disapproval (cf. LSJ s.v. ἀποκτύω, and e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 536 ἐπήινεσ’ ἔργον, *El.* 668 ἐδεξάμην τὸ ρηθέν).

**1071–9** Hermes’ last words to the Chorus, probably spoken as he makes his way back down the *parodos* (941–2, 1080nn.), are grim and threatening: ‘You can’t say you weren’t warned ...’

**1071** ἀλλ’ οὖν ... γ’ ‘Well then, at least ...’ (cf. 1058 with n.): here the particles signify the introduction of a second-best suggestion, upon the rejection of the first (*GP* 442–3). ἄ γε is the most likely correction of ἄτε in the MSS; δς τε (cf. 555–8n.) is never found in tragedy without an antecedent noun. Porson’s ἀγώ (& ἐγώ) is possible, but palaeographically less easy.

**1072** θηραθείσαι: for the metaphor, see 1078–9n.

**1073** τύχην ‘the outcome’, as at Aesch. *Eum.* 596 τὴν τύχην οὐ μέφομαι (LSJ s.v. III 3).

**1075–6** ‘No indeed, don’t (ever say that), since (it will have been) you (who hurled) yourselves ...’ For αὐταὶ ... αὐτάς, cf. 762 πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ in similar context, with n.

**1078–9** Compare Ibycus, *PMG* 287.3 ἐς ἀπειρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος, Aesch. *Ag.* 360–1 μέγα δουλείας γάγγαμον ἄτης παναλώτου. The image of hunting (571–3n.) and snaring (as old as e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.487ff., *Od.* 22.302ff.) is linked with those of harnessing and taming (5n.); but, whereas the latter suggest benevolent, purposeful adaptation of wild and free spirits for domestic use, this image suggests only their violent and painful extinction (cf. *Introd.* p. 21).

**ἀπέραντον** ‘inescapable’ (lit. ‘with no way through’), rather than ‘boundlessly large’; but perhaps both ideas are present, cf. Ibycus, *PMG* 287.6 (quoted above), and Aesch. *Ag.* 1382 ἀπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, with Fraenkel’s n. (see too 154n.).

**1080–93** Upon Hermes' departure (1071–9n.), the roar of thunder (simulated, or imagined?, cf. 1080, 1082–3nn.) is heard. Then P. delivers his final speech, opening with a paratactic string of six main verbs (present and perfect indicative), linked by δέ, and curiously reminiscent in certain respects of Io's final anapaestic speech (877–86, cf. 1085–6n.). It is addressed at first to nobody in particular (1080–90), then to the earth and sky (1091–3; cf. 88–92). He describes in vivid detail (perhaps influenced by Hesiod's account of Zeus' demolition of the Titans, *Th.* 689–728; see 992n., 1046–7n.) the onset of earthquake, thunderbolt, and storm. The next stage of his punishment, predicted at 1016–19, has now begun.

**1080** καὶ μὲν 'And see now ...' The combination is often used in dramatic dialogue, in extension of the 'progressive' usage (459n.), to mark the entrance of a new character or call attention to something just seen or heard (*GP* 356); cf. 982n. (Alternatively, like 246, 'Yes, indeed ...', in response to Hermes' warnings. But P. otherwise appears to ignore Hermes' presence.)

ἔργῳ κοῦκέτι μύθῳ: cf. 336 with n. What were previously just words (warnings at 1016–19, 1061–2; challenges at 992–4, 1043–52) are now all too real events (cf. 1031). The thematic and verbal echoes of 1043–51 are very marked in 1082–8 (1044 ριπτέσθω, 1051 ρίψει, plus 992 ριπτέσθω / ριπή; 1044 πυρός / 1084 ζάπυροι; 1044 αἰθήρ / 1088 αἰθήρ; 1045 βροντῇ cf. 993 βροντήμασι, 1062 βροντῆς / 1083 βροντῆς; 1046 ἀνέμων / 1085 ἀνέμων; 1046 χθόνα, cf. 994 χθονίοις / 1081 χθών; 1047 πνεῦμα / 1086 πνεύματα; 1048 κόντου / 1088 κόντωι; also 994 ταρασσέτω / 1082 ξυντετάρακται). The effect is a vivid awareness that the first of many predictions made in *Prom.* is already beginning to be fulfilled before our eyes.

The original staging of these final lines presents a puzzle. Was any attempt made to reproduce these effects ἔργῳ (1080) and φανερώς (1090)? And what actually happened to the actor playing P., and to the Chorus? The Theatre of Dionysus (outdoors, in daylight) could not have produced more than a token earthquake and thunderstorm: whirlwinds, dust, waves, etc. were out of the question (1082–3, 1083–4nn.). Probably the effects were left almost entirely to the words of P. and the gestures and movements of the Chorus (cf. 64–5, 394, 566, 885–6nn.): we might compare the opening scene of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, or

Aesch. fr. 76, Eur. *HF* 904ff., *Ba.* 591ff., *Erechtheus* fr. 65.45ff. Austin (so Taplin 274, who concludes: 'the final cataclysm was left entirely to the words working on the imagination of the audience').

The Chorus seem to have departed before, or during, this final speech, perhaps scattering and running up the opposite *parodos* to Hermes (so Thomson). The lack of any address to them, and the dramatic effectiveness of P.'s isolation, matching that of 88ff. (with the verbal echoes in 1091–3, see n.), both support this view of the staging. Many critics prefer to think that the Chorus remained to 'suffer with P.' (1067n.), and then, after the play was over, simply walked off (a 'cancelled departure', Taplin 273–5; so Arnott, Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 38). In that case, it would be unusual for them not to deliver the final lines of the play (Griffith 113–14, 144). A third view, that the Chorus somehow sank out of sight with P., clustering round his rock, (so Wilamowitz and many older commentators) depends on our view of the staging of P.'s engulfment, but seems beyond the capabilities of the ancient theatre.

The representation of P.'s disappearance underground is obviously dependent, among other things, on the staging of the original binding of him to the rock (Intro. p. 30, 64–5n.). It is most likely that, here again, the words did the work, and P. remained in view of the audience as the storm was imagined raging round him. It is to be noted that he is not actually described as sinking out of sight (contrast 1018–19, 1050–2): i.e. these lines describe only the *beginning* of the cataclysm, and the play can be thought to end just *before* he is swallowed up in the earth. (The actor would then presumably walk off to prepare for the next play – unless he remains in place for the opening scene of *P. Lyomenos*?) Alternatively, P. may have been so positioned that part of his 'rock' was able to be withdrawn through a door in the *skene*, or perhaps the rock itself opened up (i.e. 'collapsed', cf. 1018–19) and allowed P. to sink back out of sight (so E. Simon, *Das antike Theater* (Heidelberg 1972) 32–3). Use of the *ekkyklema*, or of a trap-door, for this purpose is possible, but unlikely; (see Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 100–22, Taplin 442–3, 447–8). If P. was bodily removed by any of these means, it is obvious that the Chorus could not also have been removed with him, since the practical obstacles (apart from the dramatic, cf. 1067n.) would be too great. For further discussion of all the problems of staging this final scene, cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 38–9, Arnott 123ff., Taplin 270–5



**1082-3 βρυχία ... βροντῆς** 'from the depths the sound of thunder bellows in response (παρα-)'; cf. 1062 βροντῆς μύκημα. βρύχιος seems to mean lit. 'underwater' (LSJ s.vv \*βρύξ, περιβρύχιος, ὑποβρύχιος, ὑπόβρυχα; also Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 336); hence here 'underground'. (The short υ rules out any connection with βρυχάομαι, etc.) The Greeks regularly confuse seismic rumblings with thunder (e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 1201 ἡχὼ χθόνιος, ὡς βροντὴ Διός, with Barrett's n.; and Hes. *Th.* 839-41 'Zeus thundered ... and the heaven ... and sea ... and underworld resounded'). So at 1044-5 it was αἰθήρ which was to be the medium of the thunder, but here the earth (though in 1083-4 the mention of 'lightning' suggests once again normal thunder). It is possible that a thunder-machine (βροντεῖον, described by Pollux 4.130: 'underneath the *stene*, skins stuffed full of stones and copper (?) were carried around' – or perhaps 'skins full of stones were rolled on copper sheets'?) was used at this point (see 1080, 1083-4nn.).

**1083-4** The Greek theatre did possess a 'lightning-machine' (κεραυνοσκοπεῖον, Pickard-Cambridge, *TDA* 235); but probably not until after the fifth century. For the 'curls' of the thunderbolt, cf. 1044 βόστρυχος with n., and 1085 ειλίσσουσι.

**1084-5 στρόμβοι:** cf. 1052 δίναις.

κόνιν: for the long iota (apparently the correct quantity in Attic; so Aristocles *apud* Herodian 1.526, 2.18 Lenz), compare Aesch. *Supp.* 180, 783 (and *Cho.* 544, 928).

**1085-6 σκιρτᾶν:** lit. 'skip, leap', (Thomson 'frolic') a bold and unusual metaphor, recalling Io's movements (599 σκιρτημάτων, 675 σκιρτήματι). Indeed the similarity of language between the description of the Zeus-sent madness which swept Io away, and that of the elemental violence of Zeus' punishment of P., is curious: e.g. 880 ἄπυρος / 1084 ζάπυροι; 882 ἐλίγδην / 1085 ειλίσσουσι; 884 πνεύματι / 1086 πνεύματα; 886 ἄτης / 1078 ἄτης; (and n.b. too 582 πυρὶ ... φλέξον ἢ χθονὶ κάλυπον, with n., and 738, 1045-6nn.). These echoes may be accidental, but they seem to provide another link between the two victims of Zeus' power, and to underline the chaotic and destructive effects of his passions; cf. C. M. Dawson, *C.P.* 46 (1951) 237-9.

**1087** *στάσιν*: another bold metaphor, perhaps borrowed from Alcaeus fr. 326.1 LP *ἀσυννέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν*.

*ἀντίπνουν*: (cf. 917n.) Such lengthening in ‘weak position’ (–ῖπν–) is rare in anapaests (only in Aristophanes, cf. Dover on *Clouds* 320), though not unusual in tragic dialogue (Introd. p. 26, 24n.). But the alternative, *ἀντίπνῶον*, will only scan with the deletion or transposition of *ἀποδεικνυμένα*.

**1088** This concluding clause of the paratactic string (1080–8, cf. 1080–93n.) simply and powerfully caps the whole description: n.b. perfect tense, indicating completion; stark juxtaposition of ‘sky with sea’ (cf. 137–40n.); bare nouns, contrasting with the epithets of 1082–7; metrical symmetry of the dimeter; and the literal usage of a conventionally hyperbolic and proverbial expression (so τὸ τοῦ λόγου, τῇ γῇ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναμεμῖχθαι ... Lucian, *Prom.* 9, doubtless a parody of this; cf. 1049–50n.). The whole effect is of extreme, yet controlled, violence.

**1089–90** *ρίπή*: cf. 992, 1043 *ρίπτέσθω*, also 738n., all used with reference to violence from Zeus; (n.b. too 311–12 with n., 932–4, as from P.). At 125–6 the ‘rushing of wings’ through the air is very different.

*φόβον*: P. can feel fear (cf. 127, despite 933), but not to the point of ‘cowering’ (174, 960) or surrendering his secret (175–6, 543–4, 989–90, 995, etc.). Like most of the great tragic heroes, he is subject to the same emotions and weaknesses that ordinary people experience (and he can thus arouse our pity and fear; Aristot. *Poet.* 13.1453a), yet at the same time distinguished from ordinary people by peculiar characteristics (in P.’s case, *προμηθία* and *αὐθαδία*) which enable him to act in extraordinary ways. If P. felt no pain or fear, his plight would not move us (Introd. p. 9).

*φανερῶς* ‘for all to see’, cf. 1080 *ἔργωι*; better than with *Διόθεν* (‘obviously from Zeus’).

**1091–3** P.’s last words, like his first (88–92, with n.) appeal to the elements themselves to witness the injustice that he is suffering. (N.b. echoes: 90 *παμμῆτορ* ... γῇ / 1091 *μητρός*; 88 *δῖος αἰθήρ* / 1092 *αἰθήρ*; 91 *πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου* / 1092–3 *πάντων* ... *κοινὸν φάος* ... *ἔσορᾶις*; 92–3 *οἶα* ... *πάσχω* ... *οἶαις αἰκείαις* ... *κτλ.* / 1093 *ὥς ἐκδίκᾳ πάσχω*.) There are no other powers, no other friends, for him to turn to: the gods are his

enemies (9, 37, 92, 975, etc.); the Chorus have (probably) abandoned him (1080n.), or if not, are in any case quite powerless to help; so are mortals (83-4, 547-51), who cannot hear him anyway (20-1). His choice of witnesses is therefore natural enough, and yet it underlines his utter isolation and vulnerability; Earth, who should be a source of comfort (as mother, cf. 209-10) and stability, is about to swallow him up (1016-19, 1050-1), and is already heaving under him (1046-8, 1081); the brilliance of the heavenly sky (αἰθήρ, cf. 88-92, 88nn.) is now clouded with dust (1084) and spray (1088, cf. 1048-50); and the sun, 'shared source of light for all' (1092), the 'all-seeing' arbitrator (91n.), will not see him again for an age (1020-1 ἄπορρον ἥξεις εἰς φῶς).

**1091** ὦ...σέβας: so e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 776 ὦ γὰρ..., πάνδικον σέβας, Eur. *Or.* 1242 ὦ...Δίκης σέβας. The context suggests that she is here addressed as Earth (see preceding n.); but Themis, the embodiment of justice and propriety, would be fitting too (cf. 209-10).

**1092** φῶς εἰλίσσων '(sky which) revolves the light (of the sun) on its course', cf. Eur. *Pho.* 3 Ἥλιε...εἰλίσσων φλόγα, Theodectes, *TrGF* 72F 10.1 ὦ καλλιφεγγῇ λαμπάδ' εἰλίσσων φλογός, | Ἥλιε...

**1093** ἐσοφῆς μ': virtually a refrain (69, 93, 119-20nn.), now used for the last time before P. sinks out of sight.

ὥς ἐκδικα πάσχω:(cf. 976 ἐκδικως, and 93, 150, 507-10nn.). The last words left ringing in the audience's ears are pathetic and persuasive. Even though other characters have suggested that P. is getting what he deserves (Kratos 5, 9, 70; Hephaestus 30, with n.; the Chorus 260, 507, 936, 1039; Hermes 945-6, etc.), it is difficult not to share P.'s indignation and pain: cf. *Introd.* pp. 8-9.

It is unusual for the final lines of a tragedy to be delivered by an actor, rather than the Chorus (only Aesch. *Ag.*, and possibly Soph. *Tr.*, *OT*, of surviving plays; see Griffith 113-14). Part of the explanation here may be P.'s continued presence on stage: he *has* to be the last to depart. But the playwright has made a virtue of this necessity, and left us with some of the most disturbing and haunting final words of any extant Greek drama. Zeus' justice, even his power, are in question. The audience awaits the answers – in the various predictions already made within *Prom.* itself, or in the next play?

# APPENDIX

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## THE TRILOGY

The scholiast to *Prom.* 513 says that P. is released 'in the next play' (= fr. 1va). Since Welcker in 1824, it has generally been agreed that this means *P. Lyomenos*, and that this play succeeded *P. Desmotes* as part of a connected trilogy. The evidence for thus linking *Lyomenos* with *Desmotes* is strong, though not conclusive. To judge from the fifteen to twenty surviving fragments of *Lyomenos*, its subject and style both fit well with *Desmotes*: one or two minor discrepancies do appear to exist, but they need not cause much concern.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, most readers of *Desmotes* agree that the play leaves too much unresolved and uncertain for it to be regarded as a self-contained play.

Denial of the existence of a trilogy has usually gone hand in hand with rejection of Aeschylean authorship of *Desmotes*. It has been argued that *Lyomenos* was a genuine work of Aeschylus, and that it provided the stimulus to the author of *Desmotes*, whose play in some sense challenges or criticizes the earlier tragedy.<sup>2</sup> This is not impossible, but seems much less likely than that both plays belong to the same trilogy and the same author, whether Aeschylus or not.

Identification of the third member of this trilogy is much less straightforward; but the most likely candidate is *P. Pyrphoros*, though this play, in contrast to *Lyomenos*, is only mentioned twice in antiquity, and only one line is explicitly quoted from it. Some regard *Pyrphoros* as merely another name for *P. Pyrkacus* (almost certainly the satyric *Prometheus* of 472 B.C., cf. *hypoth. Aesch. Pers.*<sup>3</sup>), especially since only one of them (*Pyrphoros*) is listed in the *Catalogue* of Aeschylus' plays. But no

1. Geographical problems: frs. VII, VIII. 27-8, cf. *Prom.* 734-5, 790, *hypoth.* nn.; repetitions, fr. VIII.6, cf. *Prom.* 619, fr. XIX cf. *Prom.* 462-6.

2. Notably Schmid 97ff., Taplin 464 and *J.H.S.* 95 (1975) 185-6, Müller 628-33. For fuller discussion of *Prom.* as a 'monodrama', see Rosenmeyer 51-102, Griffith 13-15, 246-52.

3. *Aesch.* frs. 205-7 N, 278 L-J, = 453-7, 342-50 M; see too D. F. Sutton, *H.S.C.P.* 78 (1974) 126.

other likely third play presents itself,<sup>4</sup> and, scanty though the evidence is, it is reasonable to accept *Pyrphoros* in this role.

The epithet πυρφόρος does not tell us whether the play came first, dramatizing P.'s gift of fire, or third, celebrating his reconciliation with Zeus and the torch-festival in his honour (fr. XVI n.): 'fire-bringer' and 'fire-carrier' are equally possible.<sup>5</sup> But it seems from what we know of *Desmotes* and *Lyomenos* that *Pyrphoros* is more likely to have preceded than followed: by the end of *Lyomenos*, P. is free, and celebratory customs have been instituted (fr. XVI n.); there would be little action left that could involve P. in another tragedy. (Cf. too fr. II with n., and *Prom.* 7-8, 193-283, 232-3, 235-6, 331nn.)

### Synopsis

There have been many attempts to reconstruct the trilogy from the fragmentary remains. The majority have followed more or less the following pattern:

1. *P. Desmotes*.

2. *P. Lyomenos*: P. is still chained. A Chorus of Titans arrives, newly released from Tartarus; P. describes to them his miseries. Then he is visited by his mother, Ge, who tries to persuade him to be reconciled with Zeus, and offers to intercede on his behalf. Heracles enters on his way to the Apples of the Hesperides; P. tells him about his future travels and labours; Heracles shoots the eagle; P. reveals the name of Thetis (either to Heracles, or to Hermes, or to Ge); he is released, either by Heracles or by one of the gods (Hephaestus, Athena, or Hermes).

3. *P. Pyrphoros*: Zeus and P. are finally reconciled; the Athenian festival of the *Promethia* is instituted. Zeus' enmity towards mankind is ended, and he gives them αἰδώς and δίκη, the social virtues, to add to their technical skills.

4. A dilogy is unlikely; on this, and other suggestions for a third play, see T. Gantz, *A.J.P.* 101 (1980) 142-4 (also fr. IV n.). Apart from *P. Pyrkaios*, another dozen or more plays are missing from the *Catalogue*, including the other two plays produced with *Pers.*; cf. Wartelle 25ff.

5. For the first, cf. Aristoph. *Birds* 1749, Aesch. *Th.* 444, Soph. *OC* 56; for the second, e.g. Aesch. *Th.* 532, Eur. *Pho.* 687, *Supp.* 260; see too LSJ s.v. and further Pohlenz, *Erl.* 31-4.

In the present edition, however, the following pattern of events is envisaged:<sup>6</sup>

1. *P. Pyrphoros*: P. steals fire from the gods and gives it to mankind. He is sentenced to an eternity of punishment.

2. *P. Desmotes*.

3. *P. Lyomenos*: as above, except that (a) P.'s predictions to Heracles follow, rather than precede, the killing of the eagle; (b) the participation of Ge is regarded as doubtful; (c) the marriage of Zeus to Thetis may have been imminent when P. revealed the secret; (d) the reconciliation of Zeus and P., the institution of the *Promethia*, and the acquisition by mankind of the social virtues, are all included in *Lyomenos*.

4. A satyr play, subject and title unknown.

### ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΣ (PROMETHEUS, BEARER OF FIRE)

**I** (fr. 208 N = 351 M) Aulus Gellius *NA* 13.19.4 ... *apud Aeschylum* ἐν τῷ Πυρφόρῳ Π., 'σιγῶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγων τὰ καίρια.' ('... in Aeschylus' *P. Pyrphoros*, "keeping silent where one should, and speaking to the point".')

Speaker and context are unknown. The line is almost identical to Aesch. *Cho.* 582 σιγᾶν δ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια, and it is possible that the attribution is mistaken (πυρφόρῳ for χοηφόροις); but similar too are Eur. fr. 413 N (as Gellius notes), Aesch. *Th.* 1, 619, fr. tr. adesp. 572 N, (cf. too fr. xxii below).

**IIa** (p. 69 N, fr. 341 M) Schol. *Prom.* 94a Herington: 'μυριατῇ· πολυετῇ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ Πυρφόρῳ γ' μυριάδας φησὶ δεδέσθαι αὐτόν. ('"ten thousand years long": i.e. "many years long"; for in the *Pyrphoros* he (Aesch.) says that he (P.) was bound for thirty thousand years.')

**IIb** (p. 69 N, fr. 321c M) Hyginus *Poet. astr.* 2.15 ... *quem alligatum ad*

6. For the most part following Pohlenz, Fitton Brown; but for more detailed argument in favour of *Pyrphoros* as *third* play, see especially Thomson (ed.) 32–8, Solmsen 146–68, Herington, *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 180–97, 326–43. The reconciliation and festivities of Aesch. *Eum.* 778–1047 are often cited as a parallel to the plot of *Pyrphoros*: but they occupy less than a third of the play.

*triginta milia annorum Aeschylus . . . ait.* (' . . . P., who Aesch. says was bound for 30,000 years.')

P. was apparently sentenced to '30,000 years of punishment' (i.e. a virtual eternity, cf. *Prom.* 94n.; contrast 774 with n.). The perfect tense (δεδέσθαι, cf. *alligatum*) might seem to indicate that P. was spoken of as 'having been bound' (i.e. in a play subsequent to *Desmotes*); but the tense is the commentator's: 'Aesch. says that he was bound . . .'; cf. fr. XIVc *fecisse*, of P.'s prophecy of the future.' (Indeed, it is hard to see how 'myriads of years' could be mentioned at all once P. has been released in *Lyomenos*, after a mere thirteen generations – unless 29,500 years pass in the course of *Desmotes*, e.g. before 88, or 436?)

Nothing else is known of the action, setting, chorus, or characters of the play.<sup>8</sup> Presumably the Titanomachy and theft of fire were central; perhaps Ocean was involved (*Prom.* 331n., but cf. 298–9n.), and mention may have been made of Kronos' curse (*Prom.* 910–12n.); Atlas too may have been introduced, as into *Desmotes* (347–50, 425–30) and *Lyomenos* (fr. XI n.); cf. Philod. *De piet.* p. 37 Gomperz = Aesch. fr. 321a M, Aesch. fr. 312 N = 619 M? (See too frs. XIX–XXII, any of which may belong to *Pyrphoros* rather than *Lyomenos*.)

Elements of *Pyrphoros* may be present in Protagoras' story (Plato, *Prot.* 321c–323a, cf. *Intro.* pp. 3–4, and 7–8n.), and in Aristoph. *Birds* 1494–1551, where an anxious P. enters, skulking under a parasol lest Zeus notice him, and suggests to the upstart birds and mortals how they can win Zeus' mistress, Basileia, for themselves. (But the references to εὐνομία κτλ. at 1539ff. may be more relevant to the end of *Lyomenos* (fr. XVI n.).)

### Dubious fragments

The following have been assigned to *Pyrphoros* with little probability. (i)

7. See further Pohlenz 77, *Erl.* 40, Fitton Brown 52–3.

8. A possible setting would be Lemnos, home of Hephaestus, and traditionally the first place on earth to receive fire (cf. *Prom.* 7–8n., fr. VIII *testimonium*), with a chorus of Cabiri (cf. Aesch. frs. 95–8 N) or Meliae (tree-nymphs associated with fire and the origins of mankind, cf. *Prom.* 7–8n., West p. 132). Other suggestions include: Olympus, with a chorus of gods; Mecone, or the Athenian Academy (cf. Paus. 1.30.2), with a chorus of mortals (but cf. fr. IIIb).



P.Oxy. 2252 (= fr. 342 M) contains the words ... ἐπέξεσεν ... τὸ φλέγος ... αὐ [γὰ] ... πυρός (perhaps from *Pyrrhaeus* or *Pyrrhoros*, but not necessarily from a Prometheus play at all). (ii) P.Oxy. 2245 (= fr. 278 L-J, frs. 343-350 M) contains choral lyrics and anapaests, celebrating fire as the gift of P. (cf. *Prom.* 506n.). Style and content (esp. nymphs, 38-42) suggest a satyric chorus. (iii) Schol. Hom. *Od.* 1.98 (fr. 379 N) quotes, from an Aeschylean play, lines addressed to a group of females: ὁμῆες δὲ βαμὸν τόνδε καὶ πυρός σέλας | κύκλωι περίστητ' ἐν λόχῳ τ' ἀπείρονι | εὔξασθε. These are unconvincingly combined with the preceding by Mette (= fr. 343.31-3 M; cf. West 132). (iv) Proclus on Hes. *WD* (schol. 157a Pertusi = Aesch. fr. 369 N = 718 M) quotes a line about Pandora ... ἥτις ἦν, κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλον, 'τοῦ πηλοπλάστου σπέρματος θνητὴ γυνή'. But there is nothing in *Desmotēs* about the creation of woman, nor about the race of Heroes, and it is unlikely that these were introduced into *Pyrrhoros*. (v) P.Heidelb. 185 is much mutilated: certain phrases (χαλκεοτυπεῖ ... ἄγαλμα παρ[θένου?] ..., πυρός ἦψε φάος βρ[στοῖς?] ... γαῖ ματρὶ ... δύσποτμοι ξυναί[μονες] ...) suggest Promethean subject-matter (cf. fr. viii.1n.); Mette assigns the fragment to *Lyomenos* (fr. 323a M), Reinhardt to *Pyrrhoros*.<sup>9</sup> (vi) fr. tr. adesp. 161 N χροιάν δὲ τὴν σὴν ἥλιος λάμπων φλογὶ | αἰγυπτιώσει is assigned by West (p. 134) to *Pyrrhoros*, on the strength of the similarity to *Prom.* 22-3.

### ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΑΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ (PROMETHEUS UNBOUND)

**IIIa** (fr. 325 M) *Hypoth. Prom.* 11-13 (p. 40 above): τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα ... Γῆ, Ἡρακλῆς ... ('*Cast of characters*: ... Earth, Heracles ...')

**IIIb** (fr. 325 M) *Life of Aesch. (Suppl. d)* Herington p. 63 = ed. Page p. 334): ... καὶ τινες ἤδη τῶν τραγωιδιῶν αὐτοῦ διὰ μόνων οἰκονομοῦνται θεῶν, καθάπερ οἱ Προμηθεῖς · τὰ γὰρ δράματα συμπληροῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἔστι τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῆς ὀρχήστρας θεῖα πάντα πρόσωπα. ('And some of his tragedies employ only gods, e.g. the *Prometheus* plays; they are taken up with the most venerable of the gods, and all the characters on stage and in the *orchestra* are divine.')

9. *Hermes* 85 (1957) 12-17, *Eranos-Jahrb.* 25 (1956) 241-83 = *Tradition und Geist* (Göttingen 1960) 182ff., 221ff.



Ge and Heracles do not belong in *Desmotes*, and, since Heracles did appear in *Lyomenos*, it is generally supposed that both names have intruded from the *dramatis personae* of the play. If so, the order suggests that Ge entered earlier, her arrival thus balancing that of Ocean in *Desmotes*, just as Heracles balances Io (284–396, 561–886nn.); like Ocean, too, Ge is parent of the Chorus. Perhaps she managed (unlike Ocean) to persuade P. to initiate some process of reconciliation with Zeus; but the signs are that neither side was ready to negotiate before the arrival of Heracles (ix–xiv, xnn.). Alternatively, Ge may have appeared later, as mediator and bearer of the secret to Zeus (cf. Hes. *Th.* 886–900, Pind. *I.* 8.27ff.). Yet none of the extant fragments or mythographers' accounts gives her any role at all in the story,<sup>10</sup> and it is possible that her presence in the *dramatis personae* is due to some other accident.<sup>11</sup>

of Προμηθεΐς (IIIb) must include at least *Desmotes* (despite the mortal Io) and *Lyomenos*, if not the less-known *Pyrrhoros* or the satyric *Pyrrkaeus*. The divine cast of *Lyomenos* included P., the Titan-Chorus, Ge (?), Heracles, and possibly Thetis (fr. xv with n.), Hermes (? cf. fr. xviii.), and Hephaestus or Athena (fr. xvn.).

**IVa** (fr. 320 M) Schol. (M) *Prom.* 511b Herington: ...δέστιν, οὐπω μοι λυθῆναι μεμοίραται· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι λύεται, ὅπερ ἐμφαίνει Αἰσχύλος. ('...That is to say, "Not yet is it granted me to be released"; for he is released in the next play, as Aesch. is hinting.')

**IVb** Schol. (M) *Prom.* 522 Herington: 'ἄλλου λόγου'· τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι φυλάττει τοὺς λόγους. ('"another speech": he is saving the speech for the next play.')

These two scholia comprise the only explicit evidence that *Lyomenos* was a sequel to *Desmotes*, and, by implication, that both were members of one trilogy (unless τὸ ἐξῆς δράμα means only the next play in an

10. The prophetic Themis of Pind. *I.* 8 is not linked to P. A female figure on an Apulian *crater* depicting P. freed by Heracles has been identified by some as Ge (Berlin 1969.9, late fourth century = Trendall and Webster III.1.27); but this identification is far from certain.

11. The order of names for *Desmotes* is in any case jumbled; cf. e.g. West 141–2.

alphabetical collection, cf. schol. Pind. *I*.3.24 ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς φιδῇ). Apart from this, the comments tell us nothing of value.<sup>12</sup>

**V–VII** *Lyomenos* opened with anapaests from the Chorus of Titans (viiib ‘right at the beginning of the tragedy . . .’), with P. already on stage (cf. *Prom.* 1080n.), still chained to his rock (*Prom.* 1020–1). The Chorus entered either with a continuous system of anapaests and lyrics (as, e.g., Aesch. *Pers.*, *Supp.*), or in an epirrhematic exchange with P. (as *Prom.* 128ff., where see n.). Two pieces of evidence, neither very strong, point to the latter (fr. vi.8n., and fr. v., Cratinus’ parody).

**V** (fr. 190 N = 322a M) Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 19.1–2 . . . ἐπὶ Τάναιν ποταμόν . . . , ὅς λέγεται ὀρίζειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν Εὐρώπην . . . καίτοι Αἰσχύλος ἐν Π. Λυομένοι τὸν Φάσιν ὄρον τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ποιεῖ· λέγουσι γοῦν <παρ’> αὐτῶι οἱ Τιτᾶνες πρὸς τὸν Προμηθεῖα ὅτι

ἦκομεν . . .

τοὺς σοὺς ἄθλους τούσδε, Προμηθεῦ,

δεσμοῦ τε πάθος τόδ’ ἐποψόμενοι . . .

ἔπειτα καταλέγουσι . . . κτλ. (= fr. viia).

(‘. . . to the R. Tanais . . . , which is said to separate Europe from Asia . . . Yet Aesch. in *P.* *Lyomenos* makes the Phasis the boundary of Europe and Asia; at least the Titans say there to P., “We have come . . . to view your labours, P., and these chains which you endure . . .” Then they list . . . etc.’)

(**Metres:** anapaests. A few words are missing between ἦκομεν and τοὺς.)

ἦκομεν is probably the first word of the play (cf. *Prom.* 1, 284; and viib below). The manner in which the Chorus announce and explain their arrival (cf. *Prom.* 2n.), together with the bare vocative Προμηθεῦ (cf. *Prom.* 144n.), and the occurrence of such key words as ἄθλους, δεσμοῦ, ἐποψόμενοι, emphasizes the continuity of P.’s sufferings throughout the intervening ages. (See too frs. vii, xi, xii with nn.) At *Prom.* 219–21 we

12. But they do rule out the theory of A. J. Podlecki, *B.I.C.S.* 22 (1975) 16, that another play, set in the Underworld, might have intervened between *Desmotēs* and *Lyomenos*.

learned that, as a result of P.'s defection to Zeus' party, the Titans were imprisoned in Tartarus, along with Kronos (as at Hes. *Th.* 717ff., 851). Now they are free, probably resident in the Isles of the Blest (fr. vln.), just as Kronos is said to have been released by Zeus to rule over the Heroes there (Hes. *WD* 173a–c Solmsen). Zeus' regime has become less harsh and unforgiving (*Prom.* 35, 379–80nn.): cf. Pind. *P.* 4.292 (466 B.C.) λῦσε δὲ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος Τιτᾶνας · ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ μεταβολαί . . . κτλ.

A papyrus fragment of the *Ploutoi* of Cratinus<sup>13</sup> (430 B.C.?) includes the following: . . . Τιτᾶνες μὲν | γενεάν ἐσ[μεν] | Πλοῦτοι δ' ἐκαλούμεθ' ὅτ' [ἦρχε Κρόνος] [10] – . . . εἶτα δὲ κλέπτεις | τὸν Δία . . . | [ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς Κ] ρόνον | ἐκ βασιλείας [15] | [ἐκβάλλει κ] αἰ | Τιτᾶνας το[ύσδ'] | . . . ντας | δεσμ[οῖς ἀλύτοις] | . . . δεσμὸς . . . | ὥς δὲ τυραννίδος | ἀρχὴ λ[έλυται,] | δῆμος δὲ κρατεῖ, | δεῦρ' ἐσύθημεν | πρὸς ὄμ[αιμόν τ' ὄντ'] [20] | αὐτοκασίγνη|τόν τε παλαιὸν | ζητοῦντες <ς> ἐκεῖ σαθρόν ἤδη. || This arrival of a chorus of Wealth-gods (cf. Hes. *WD* 122–6), calling themselves Titans, hastening to celebrate a change of political climate (16–20) by visiting a suffering brother (20–2), addressing him – or someone – in anapaests, and even referring to 'theft' (14), 'bonds' (17, 18), and 'tyranny' (18), shows distinct similarities to the opening scene of *Lyomenos*. Cratinus' parody seems to have been epirrhematic; perhaps his original was too (v–vii n.). The references to 'Zeus' and 'tyranny' are probably directed at Pericles, but may also refer to the changed character of Zeus' rule in *Lyomenos*.

σαθρόν (22) presumably here means 'old, decrepit'; in the case of P., it might have signified 'wasted, enfeebled' (cf. fr. viii.22–6, *Prom.* 22–3, 94, 541, etc.); cf. the grey-haired P. of *ARV* 1269.6?

Note the echoes of *Desmotes* (δεσμοῖς, τυραννίδος, ζητοῦντες, and especially 20 ἐσύθημεν, cf. *Prom.* 135; also ὄμαιμον, αὐτοκασίγνητον, cf. *Prom.* 289–92, 410, and fr. viii.1, PHeidelb. 185 (above, p. 285); n.b. too the metrical anomaly of 21 (no diaeresis, αὐτοκασίγνη|τόν τε, cf. *Prom.* 172, 295nn., and fr. vi. 4n.).<sup>14</sup>

**VI** (fr. 192 N = 323 M) Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.2.27 . . . φημὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων δόξαν . . . οὕτω τὰ μεσημβρινὰ πάντα Ἀιθιοπίαν καλεῖσ-

13. Fr. 73 Austin; cf. D. L. Page, *Gr. Lit. Pap.* (Loeb ed.) pp. 196–201, W. Luppe, *Wiss. Zeitschr. Halle* 16 (1967) 57–91, with further references.

14. As restored by most editors, 16–17 give two further overlaps, καὶ | Τιτᾶνας, and τοὺς | στασιάζοντας (cf. *Prom.* 199–200); but neither is at all certain.

θαι τὰ πρὸς Ὠκεανῶι · μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα · ὃ τε γὰρ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Π. τῶι  
Λυομένωι φησὶν οὕτω ·

... φοινικόπεδόν τ'  
Ἐρυθρᾶς ἱερὸν χεῦμα θαλάσσης,  
† χαλκοκέραυνόν † τε παρ' Ὠκεανῶι  
λίμνην † παντοτρόφον † Αἰθιοπῶν,  
ἴν' ὃ παντόπτης Ἥλιος αἰεὶ  
χρῶτ' ἀθάνατον κάματόν θ' ἵππων  
θερμαῖς ὕδατος  
μαλακοῦ προχοαῖς ἀναπαύει.

5

4 λίμνην Dindorf: -αν MSS    πάντων τροφόν Lobbeck    5 παντόπτης  
Dindorf (-ας Tyrwhitt): παντεπόπτας MSS    7 προχοαῖς τ' MSS

('I maintain that, according to the view of the ancient Greeks, the whole of the southern area by Ocean was thus called *Ethiopia*. Here is evidence: in *P. Lyomenos*, Aesch. says, "... and the crimson-floored, sacred stream of the Red Sea, and the bronze-flashing (?) mere next to Ocean, all-nourishing (?) of Ethiopians, where the all-seeing Sun ever rests his immortal flesh and the weariness of his horses with warm pourings of gentle water ...".')

Although v and vii are quoted as following closely one upon another, geography seems to require that vi intervene, as the Titans 'catalogue' (vii<sub>a</sub>) their journey through Africa and Asia into Europe (see too vii n.) – unless, as seems unlikely, vi belongs to a quite different anapaestic scene (e.g. concerning Heracles). Strabo's discussion of Ethiopia (cf. vii n., and *Prom.* 2, 137–40 nn.) shows, together with Arrian on vii, that the Titans have come from far south or south-west, i.e. presumably the Isles of the Blest (cf. Hes. *WD* 168–71 ... παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην, with 173a–c; see v n.).

2 By the 'red sea', the Indian Ocean may be meant (LSJ s.v. ἐρυθρός ii and Map). Presumably χεῦμα and λίμνην are governed by a verb such as e.g. προλιπόντες. (For χεῦμα of the sea, cf. Eur. fr. 316.2 Ν χεῦμα πόντου.)

3 † χαλκοκέραυνόν † must be corrupt (Homeric χαλκοῦ στεροπή, or Eur. *Tro.* 1104 κεραυνοφαῆς πῦρ, are not truly parallel). Perhaps χαλκαμάρυγον (LSJ s.v. χαλκοκέραυνος).

**4-8** λίμνην κτλ.: this 'mere' in the extreme south, in whose warm waters the sun restores his strength every night, may be the κρήνη ἡλίου (Hdt. 4.181, cf. Lucr. *DRN* 6.848-9); or it may be a conflation of such phrases as 'Ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην (Hom. *Od.* 3.1; see too LSJ s.v. λίμνη 2 = 'sea'); with Mimnermus' description of the Sun's nightly journey (fr. 12 West, esp. 2, 3, 8-10); cf. too Eur, *Phaethon* 1-5 (fr. 771 N), esp. 'Ἡλίου θ' ἱπποστάσεις.

**4** † παντοτρόφον † gives awkward sense and metre (two-syllable overlap of metron-diaeresis; but cf. *Prom.* 172, 293nn.). Lobeck's πάντων τροφόν is the simplest correction.

**6** The zeugma (χρῶτα ... κάματόν τε) is odd: more natural would be a genitive, 'relieves (them) from toil' (e.g. καμάτων θ' ἵππους ...).

**8** The paroemiac marks the end of the anapaestic period; and, if the practice of *Desmotes* is observed here too, a change of speaker (Intro. p. 24); in which case P. must have responded in *epirrhema* (see v-vii n.).

**VIIa** (fr. 191 N = 322 M) Arrian *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 19.2 ... ἔπειτα καταλέγουσιν (sc. οἱ Τιτᾶνες, cf. v above) ὅσῃν χώραν ἐπῆλθον,  
πῆι μὲν δίδυμον χθονὸς Εὐρώπης  
μέγαν ἡδ' Ἀσίας τέρμονα Φᾶσιν ...

πῆι Ψ: τῆι Φ

('Then they list all the areas which they visited, "... where the great Phasis, double boundary of the lands of Europe and Asia..."')

**VIIb** (fr. 322b M) Procopius, *De bell. goth.* 4.6.15 ... Αἰσχύλος ἐν Π. τῷ Λυομένῳ εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος τῆς τραγωιδίας τὸν ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν 'τέρμονα' καλεῖ γῆς τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. ('Aesch. in *P. Lyomenos*, right at the beginning of the tragedy, calls the R. Phasis the "boundary" of Asia and Europe.')

**VIIc** (fr. 322c M) Schol. Dionys. *Perieg.* 10 (p. 323.22 Bernh.) ... Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Π. Λυομένῳ ... ὑπὸ τούτου (sc. τοῦ Ταναΐδος) διορίζεσθαι φησι τὰς ἡπείρους. ('Aesch. in *P. Lyomenos* ... says that the continents are divided by this (sc. the R. Tanais).')

(Cf. *Prom.* 734–5, 790nn. for the geographical problem.) These lines, although ‘right at the beginning of the play’ (vii b), probably come near the end of the anapaestic ‘catalogue’ (viii a) of places (e.g. ‘... where finally we crossed the boundary ... and came to you here ...’). The Titans have almost reversed Io’s route, from Ethiopia, via Pontus, to Scythia: (see Map, and, for ‘Scythia’ and ‘Ethiopia’, fr. vi n., *Prom.* 2n.).

(It is possible that fr. xviii also belongs here; see n. *ad loc.*)

**VIII** (fr. 193 = 324 M) Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 2.23–5: ... *veniat Aeschylus* ... *Quo modo fert apud eum Prometheus dolorem quem excipit ob furtum Lemnium* (= Accius, *Philoct.* 533–6 R.) ‘unde ignis cluet | mortalibus clam | divisus, eum | doctus Prometheus | clepsisse dolo | poenasque Iovi | fato expendisse supremo’? *Has igitur poenas pendens adfixus ad Caucasum dicit haec:*

‘Titanum suboles, socia nostri sanguinis, generata Caelo, aspiciate religatum asperis vinctumque saxis, navem ut horrisono freto noctem paventes timidi adnectunt navitae. Saturnius me sic infixit Iuppiter,	5
Iovisque numen Mulciberi adscivit manus. hos ille cuneos fabrica crudeli inserens perrupit artus; qua miser sollertia transverberatus castrum hoc Furiarum incolo. iam tertio me quoque funesto die	10
tristi advolatu aduncis lacerans unguibus Iovis satelles pastu dilaniat fero. tum iecore opimo farta et satiata adfatim clangorem fundit vastum et sublime avolans pinnata cauda nostrum adulat sanguinem.	15
cum vero adesum inflatu renovatum est iecur, tum rursum taetros avida se ad pastus refert. sic hunc custodem maestis cruciatus alo, qui me perenni vivum foedat miseria. namque, ut videtis, vinclis constrictus Iovis	20
arcere nequeo diram volucrum a pectore. sic me ipse viduus pestes excipio anxias amore mortis terminum anquirens mali;	

sed longe a leto numine aspellor Iovis,  
 atque haec vetusta, saeculis glomerata horridis, 25  
 luctifica clades nostro infixata est corpori,  
 e quo liquatae solis ardore excidunt  
 guttae, quae saxa adsidue instillant Caucasi.'

14 avolans *Lambinus*: advolans *MSS*

('Let Aesch. come forward . . . How does his P. bear the pain inflicted on him because of the theft on Lemnos "Whence fire is said to have been secretly distributed to mortals; clever P. stole it by trickery, and paid the price to Zeus in the end"? So, as he "pays this price", bound to the Caucasus, he says the following: "Race of Titans, kin of my blood, begotten of Uranus, look at me, bound and chained to these rough rocks, like a ship on the roaring seas, which anxious sailors make fast in fear of nightfall: so has Zeus, son of Kronos, fastened me – and the hand of Hephaestus approved Zeus' will; it was he who drove in these wedges with cruel art and split open my joints. So, piteously pierced through by his skilful workmanship, I occupy this outpost of the Furies. (10) And now, every other fateful day, the servant of Zeus flies grimly down, and starts to tear me with his hooked talons, ripping me to pieces in his fierce search for food. Then, stuffed and glutted to his fill on the rich liver, he lets out a huge scream, and, as he flies away on high, brushes my gore with his feathered tail. But when my gnawed liver has swollen back to its full size, then greedily back he comes again to his foul meal. Thus do I feed this guardian of my grim torture, one who mangles me alive, in eternal pain. (20) For, bound, as you see, in Zeus' chains, I cannot ward off the dreaded bird from my breast; bereft of even my own aid, I have to endure these trying ills, and, in desire for death, I look around for any end to my troubles – but I am kept far from death by the power of Zeus. Indeed, this ancient, grievous pain, grown greater with the ghastly years, has become engrained in this body of mine, from which the drops, melted by the heat of the sun, constantly bespatter the rocks of the Caucasus."')

As proof that pain is regarded even by philosophers as an evil, Cicero quotes first Soph. *Tr.* 1046–1102, then this speech from *P. Lyomenos*,

both in his own<sup>15</sup> verse translations. (The introductory anapaests about P. and Lemnos come from Accius' *Philocteta* (c. 120 B.C.),<sup>16</sup> and may also owe something to a Greek original, perhaps *Pyrphoros* or *Lyomenos* (see fr. 11 n.)) His translation is likely to be accurate in its main outlines, though fairly free with minor omissions, additions, rephrasings, and adaptations to suit his own philosophical and poetical purposes.<sup>17</sup>

**1 Titanum:** i.e. the Chorus (cf. fr. v, and Cratinus fr. 73 in v n.).

**socia ... sanguinis:** cf. *Prom.* 39n., 410, and Cratinus fr. 73.9, 20-1, P. Heidelb. 185 (n. on *Pyrphoros*, *dub. frag.* above).

**2 generata Caelo:** cf. *Prom.* 164-5 Οὐρανίαν γένναν with n.

**aspicite:** cf. *Prom.* 93n., fr. v ἐποψόμενοι; also 20 below.

**2-3 asperis ... saxi:** cf. *Prom.* 35 τραχύς with n.

**3-4 navem etc.:** cf. the image of *Prom.* 965, with n.; also Eur. *HF* 1094, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1105-6, and Aesch. *Supp.* 764-72.

**5 Saturnius:** cf. *Prom.* 577 Κρόνιε παῖ, and Homeric Κρονίδης, Κρονίων.

**6** Cf. *Prom.* 619; either *Lyomenos* here contained an almost identical line, or Cicero has interpolated it himself.

**Mulciberi** (lit. 'the Softener') an epithet of Vulcan (the Roman Hephaestus).

**7 cuneos:** cf. *Prom.* 64 σφηνός (and 76 ?).

**7-8 fabrica ... sollertia:** cf. *Prom.* 87 τέχνης; also 45 χειρωναξία.

**perrupit artus:** cf. *Prom.* 64-5 στέρνων διαμπαξ, with n.

**9 castrum:** cf. *Prom.* 31 φρουρήσεις, 143 φρουράν, 801 φρούριον with n.

**10 tertio ... quoque ... die:** i.e. on alternate days, counting

15. So Cicero tells us (2.26). Lines 14-15 are (mis)quoted by Nonius (fourth-century A.D. grammarian) as by 'Accius *Prometheo*'; see further Herington, *T.A.P.A.* 92 (1961) 239-50, H. D. Jocelyn, *Y.C.S.* 23 (1973) 90-111, Conacher 105-6.

16. Fr. 533 Ribbeck (538-40 Warmington); n.b. too Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 2.19, 2.33 = Accius frs. 553, 562 Ribbeck (541-53 Warmington).

17. Jocelyn (n. 15 above) 90-111; cf. too Herington, *T.A.P.A.* 92 (1961) 240-1. The metre is *iambic senarius*, the Roman version of the trimeter; six 'feet', rather than three metra, are felt, and resolution is much freer than in Greek tragedy. Thus the scheme is  $\bar{\chi} \bar{\omega} | \bar{\chi} \bar{\omega} | \bar{\chi} || \bar{\omega} | \bar{\chi} || \bar{\omega} | \bar{\chi} \bar{\omega} ||$ .



inclusively; cf. *Prom.* 1024n. Photius and the *Suda* contain an entry: τρίτῳ φάει · τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, which may perhaps be based on this passage.

**11-12** The original may have contained the word εἰσαφάσματα (= fr. xvii below): this must actually mean 'pokings' (εἰς-αφάσσω); but the first gloss and derivation suggested in Hesychius (εἰσπτήματα, κτλ.) may be mistakenly drawn from the Greek original of *advolatu* etc.; cf. too *Prom.* 1022-3.

**15 adulat:** perhaps (προσ-)σαίνει, in literal sense; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1665, and *Prom.* 835 with n.

**10 foedat miseria:** cf. *Prom.* 93 αἰκείαισιν with n.

**22 me ipse viduus:** an unusual expression; if not Cicero's own, it might suggest e.g. αὐτὸς δ' ἑμαυτοῦ τάσδε χηρωθεὶς νόσους | πάσχω (cf. *Prom.* 596n.).

**23-4 amore mortis etc.:** cf. *Prom.* 752-4, in contrast to the defiant words of 933, 1053 (and see 932-4n.). For *terminum mali*, cf. *Prom.* 99-100 with n.

**27-8 guttae:** at Ap. Rhod. 3.845ff. these drops are said to be the source of Medea's magic charms; cf. Soph. fr. 340 R?

**Caucasi:** contrast *Prom.* 2, 719-21n. Either the setting has changed, or Cicero has wrongly interpreted e.g. πάγου, ὄρους; see too frs. xi, xiv, and *hypoth.* n.

This speech probably opened the First Episode. It reveals an exhausted and demoralized P., much changed from the closing scenes of *Desmotēs*: Ocean's warning (313-14) has proved true.

Further vestiges of P.'s words to the Chorus may be preserved in the 'Menippean' satire, *Prometheus Liber*, of Varro (c. 75 B.C.). Among the surviving fragments are the following <sup>18</sup> (metre: *iambic senarius*): fr. 423 ... *ego infelix non queam | vim propulsare atque inimicum Orco immittere? | nequiquam saepe aeratas manuis compedes | conor revellere* ('Shall I not be capable, in my torment, of repelling (this) violence and dispatching my foe to the Underworld? In vain do I constantly try to tear away the brazen shackles from my hands'); fr. 424 *tum ut si subernus cortex aut cacumina | morientum in querqueto arborum aritudine* ('then, like cork-bark, or the tops of trees in an oak-forest dying of drought ...'); fr. 425 *atque ex*

18. P. Terentius Varro, ed. F. Bücheler, in *Petronii Saturae*, edd. Bücheler and Heraeus (Berlin 1922) 229-31.

*artubus* | *exsanguibus dolore evirescat* (?) *colos* ('and with the pain the colour fades from my bloodless limbs'); fr. 426 *mortalis nemo exaudit, sed late incolens* | *Scytharum inhospitalis campis vastitas* ('no mortal hears, but the inhospitable emptiness that inhabits the Scythian plains far and wide'); fr. 427 *levis mens umquam somnurnas imagines* | *affatur, non umbrantur somno pupulae* ('(my) unsettled mind constantly accosts dream-figures; (my) eyes are not darkened in sleep'). All of these fit well with the situation of the opening of *Lyomenos* (and cf. *Prom.* 2, 21–32, Cratinus fr. 73.22, quoted in v n.). On the other hand, fr. 428 suggests different subject-matter: *humanae quandam gentem stirpis concoquit*; | *frigus calore atque umore aritudinem* | *miscet* ('he prepares a sort of human race; he mixes hot with cold, wet with dry').

(It is possible that fr. xxii (188 N) belongs here; but βροτῶν, if sound, tells against it; see n. *ad loc.*)

**IX–XIV** From this group of fragments we know that Heracles arrived, shot the eagle, and received instructions from P. about his quest for the Apples of the Hesperides and the Cattle of Geryones. The pattern of events seems to have been similar to that narrated by Pherecydes (followed by Apollodorus);<sup>19</sup> but several crucial questions remain unanswerable from the available evidence: At what point, and why, did Heracles shoot the eagle (ix n.)? Had Zeus already given him permission (cf. *Prom.* 771 n., ix n., xvi n.)? Did P. reveal the secret to him? Did he release P. from his chains? Did he make any arrangements about an exchange of immortality (cf. *Prom.* 1026–9, Apollod. 2.5.11)?

Most scholars have placed the shooting of the eagle (frs. ix and x) after P.'s predictions (frs. xi–xiv).<sup>20</sup> More likely, and dramatically more effective, is the sequence printed here, in which Heracles enters, learns of P.'s predicament, and, in characteristically philanthropic spirit, kills the eagle as it arrives (or departs to intercept it, see ix n.); in an ensuing dialogue, a grateful P. gives him advice for the future. The secret is perhaps discussed, but not divulged: Zeus and P. are still hostile and presumably unreconciled (see nn. on x, xv, xvi). The killing of the eagle

19. See schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1396, Apollod. 2.5.11 (with Frazer's nn.), and further xi n., West 145–6.

20. See e.g. Nauck, Smyth, Mette, Herington; otherwise Thomson, West.

and the unbinding of P. may well have taken place in separate Episodes; indeed it is not even certain that Heracles himself released P. Although the predictions of *Desmotes* seem explicit enough (770–3 ὁ λύσων (sc. ἐκ δεσμῶν), 785 τὸν λύσοντα, 872 λύσει), expressions such as λύω, σώζω, ἐλευθερόω, κτλ. could be used of *rescuing* P. from the eagle: (so apparently Hes. *Th.* 528 ἐλύσατο δυσφροσυνάων, cf. *Th.* 615–16; n.b. fr. x σωθείς, and schol. *Prom.* 27b Herington φασί ... τὸν Ἡρακλέα ... βέλει τὸν γῦπα διωσάμενον ἐλευθερῶσαι τὸν Π. τοῦ ... ἄλγους, καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀπολῦσαι: see further fr. x n.). In *Desmotes* there was no occasion to specify precisely what sort of ‘release’ would be involved, until Hermes mentioned the eagle (cf. *Prom.* 1026–9 with nn.).

**IX** Plut. *Amat.* 14.757e (fr. 200 N = 332 M): ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἕτερον θεὸν παρακαλεῖ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρνιν αἰρεσθαι τὸ τόξον, ὥς Αἰσχύλος φησὶν·  
ἀγρεὺς δ’ Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν ἰθύνει βέλος.

(‘Heracles summons another god when he is about to raise his bow against the bird, as Aesch. says: “May hunter Apollo direct the shaft straight!”’.)

**ΙΘΥΝΟΙ**: εὐθύνοι (Nauck) would be more normal Attic (as *Prom.* 287); but cf. Eur. *Or.* 1016. It is generally inferred from this fragment that the shooting of the eagle was enacted on stage (perhaps with the help of the *mēchanē*, as for Ocean’s griffin). But it is quite possible that Heracles rushed off-stage at this point; or that this line occurred in, e.g., a messenger-speech (cf. Oedipus’ words reported at Soph. *OC* 1631ff.). Apart from this pious prayer, we have no indication as to whether Heracles had his father’s permission, or (more likely) acted on his own initiative in killing the bird of Zeus,<sup>21</sup> cf. *Prom.* 771n., and frs. xi, xvi below.

**X** Plut. *Life of Pompey* 1.1 (fr. 201 N = 333 M): πρὸς δὲ Πομπήιον ἔοικε τοῦτο παθεῖν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅπερ ὁ Αἰσχύλου Προμηθεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ηρακλέα, σωθείς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγων,  
ἐχθροῦ πατρός μοι τοῦτο φίλτατον τέκνον.

(‘Towards Pompey, the Roman people seems right from the start to

21. As e.g. he threatened to shoot the sun (Athen. 11.470c–d, Apollod. 2.5.10, both based on Pherecydes).

have felt the same as Aesch.'s P. towards Heracles: after being rescued by him he says, "... this most beloved son of a father hateful to me ...".')

Apparently P. speaks to a third party (the Chorus?), rather than to Heracles himself (= τοῦτο), who need not even have been present. If P. still regards Zeus as his enemy, he has probably not yet been released (σωθείς then = 'saved' from the eagle, see ix-xiv n.), and is still withholding the secret.

**XI** Galen *Comment. on Hippocr. Epidem.* vi, 1.29 (fr. 195 N = 327 M):  
Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Προμηθεΐ Δεσμώτη,

εὐθείαν ἔρπε τήνδε · καὶ πρῶτιστα μὲν  
βορεάδας ἤξεις πρὸς πνοάς, ἴν' εὐλαβοῦ  
βρόμον καταιγίζοντα, μή σ' ἀναρπάσῃ  
δυσχειμέρῳ πέμφιγι συστρέψας ἄνω.

4 ἄνω MSS: ἄφνω Stephanus

('Aesch. in *P. Desmotes*, "Keep going straight down this path; and first you will come to the Northern Winds, where beware of the storming roar, lest it swirl you up and carry you away in its wintry blast".')

Galen (discussing the word πέμφιξ) quotes these lines as being from *Desmotes*<sup>22</sup> (where Wecklein would insert them after 713, Bolton after 720, Paley after 791; see 719-21 n., Bolton 54-5); but they are usually assigned to *Lyomenos*. The cave of the North Wind lay in the 'Rhipaeian Mts' (cf. fr. xiii, 719-21 n.), which would be to the east of P.'s rock in *Desmotes*, but north of his traditional place of punishment in the (true) Caucasus (frs. viii. 28, xiv nn.: see too Map, and App. p. 281 n.1). Apollodorus (2.5.11, probably following Pherecydes<sup>23</sup>) narrates, 'When Heracles came to the Hyperboreans on his way to Atlas, since P. told him not to journey himself after the apples, but to take over the Pole

22. A little later he says: ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βανίδος ὁ αὐτός (sc. Aesch.) φησιν ἐν Προμηθεΐ: 'Ἐεὐλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ σε προσβάλῃ στόμα | πέμφιξ, πικροὶ γὰρ κοῦ ἴδιὰ ζόης† ἄτμοι.' This fragment probably belongs to *P. Pyrkaeus* (fr. 206 N = 456 M), though some editors have attributed it to *Lyomenos*.

23. Pherecydes, *FGH* 3 F 16-17, 75-6, 7 (= schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1396); see ix-xiv n.

from Atlas and send him, he did as P. said, and took it over . . .’ It might appear from fr. xi that it is to the Hyperboreans that Heracles is being directed, and that Atlas and the Apples of the Hesperides resided in the far north (cf. *Prom.* 429–30 πόλον); but *Prom.* 348 ἐσπέρους argues otherwise (and cf. fr. xiv n.). For the prominence of Atlas in the trilogy, cf. *Prom.* 347–50, 423–30, and n. on *Pyrrhophoros*, App. p. 284.

The language of this and the next fragment is strongly reminiscent of P.’s directions to Io in *Desmotes*: n.b. ἤκω twice, once with direct object (xii. 1, cf. *Prom.* 2, 284–97nn.); ἵνα = ‘where’ (cf. *Prom.* 21n., also fr. vi.5); ‘beware . . . etc.’ (*Prom.* 709ff. n.); and the marvellous lands and peoples of the north and west, corresponding to those of the east and south visited by Heracles’ ancestress (cf. *Prom.* 561–886n., but also fr. vii n.).

**XII** (fr. 196 N = 329 M) Stephanus Byzant. *Lexicon* 7.5 s.v. Ἀβιοί (cf. schol.AT Hom. *Il.* 13.6): Αἰσχύλος τε ᾿Γαβίους’ διὰ τοῦ ᾿Γ’ ἐν Λυομένωι Π..

ἔπειτα δ’ ἤξεις δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον  
 <βροτῶν> ἀπάντων καὶ φιλοξενώτατον  
 Γαβίους, ἵν’ οὗτ’ ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος  
 τέμνει δίκηλλ’ ἄρουραν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοσπόροι  
 γύαι φέρουσι βίοντον ἀφθονον βροτοῖς.

1 ἤξεις Stanley: ἤξει MSS      2 βροτῶν Hermann      4 δίκηλλ’  
 Holstein: δίκηλλης MSS

(‘Aesch. calls them “Gabioi” with a “G” in *P. Lyomenos*: “Then you will come to a people most righteous and hospitable of all mortals, the Gabioi, where neither plough nor earth-breaking hoe cuts the land, but the fields, sowing themselves, bear abundant livelihood to mortals”.’)

Stephanus is commenting on Hom. *Il.* 13.1–6, where Zeus turns away from the fighting to look at peaceful peoples instead: . . . ἐπὶ . . . Θρηικῶν . . . καὶ ἀγαθῶν Ἰππημολγῶν | γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων. Why the Abii should have become Gabii is unclear. The earth’s voluntary production of crops for the virtuous is a commonplace (e.g. Hes. *WD* 117–18, 171–2, Hom. *Od.* 7.111–32; but also, for the lawless Cyclopes, Hom. *Od.* 9.107–9). The hospitable Gabii may have been contrasted with the hostile Amazons (cf. *Prom.* 723–5, 728nn.);

and the presence of δικαιοσύνη and φιλοξενία may possibly represent an advance from *Desmotes* (450–506n.)?

(It is not unlikely that fr. xxiii also belongs here; see n. *ad loc.*)

**XIII** (fr. 197 N = 330 M) Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.282: τὸν Ἴστρον φησὶν (sc. ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος) ἐκ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων καταφέρεσθαι καὶ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὄρων· οὕτω δὲ εἶπεν ἀκολουθῶν Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Λυομένῳ Π. λέγοντι τοῦτο. ('Apollonius says that the R. Ister is borne down from the Hyperboreans and the Rhipaeian Mountains; in saying this, he follows what Aesch. says in *P. Lyomenos*.')

If this refers to part of P.'s instructions to Heracles, he appears again to be directing him north, or even east, rather than west; cf. xi n. For ancient views of the location of the Ister (= R. Danube), see Bolton 42, 52.

**XIVa** (fr. 199 N = 326a M) Strabo 4.1.7: ... φησὶ γοῦν Π. παρ' αὐτῷ (= Αἰσχύλῳ), καθηγούμενος Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ὁδῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Καυκάσου πρὸς τὰς Ἑσπερίδας,

ἤξεις δὲ Λιγύων εἰς ἀτάρβητον στρατόν,  
ἐνθ' οὐ μάχης, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ θοῦρός περ ὦν,  
μέμψη· πέπρωται γάρ σε καὶ βέλη λιπεῖν  
ἐνταῦθ', ἐλέσθαι δ' οὔτιν' ἐκ γαίας λίθον  
ἔξεις, ἐπεὶ πᾶς χῶρός ἐστι μαλθακός.  
ἰδὼν δ' ἀμηχανοῦντά σ' οἰκτιρεῖ πατήρ,  
νεφέλην δ' ὑποσχὼν νιφάδι γογγύλων πέτρων  
ὑπόσκιον θήσει χθόν', οἷς ἔπειτα σὺ  
βαλὼν διώσῃ βαιδίῳ Λίγυν στρατόν.'

5

6 Cobet: σ' ὁ Ζεὺς οἰκτερεῖ MSS

('At least P. says in Aesch., as he is explaining to Heracles the ways from the Caucasus to the Hesperides: "You will come to the fearless host of the Ligurians, where, bold though you are, you will not, I am certain, find fault with their war-making. For it is ordained that your arrows actually fail you there, and you will not be able to pick up any stones from the ground, since the whole area is soft. But your father, when he sees you in difficulties, will pity you; he will provide a cloud and make

the land dark with a rain of round stones, with which you will then pelt the Ligurian army and easily repulse them”.)

**XIVb** Dionys. Hal. *AR* 1.41.3: ... Αἰσχύλος ἐν Π. Λυομένωι. πεποιήται γὰρ αὐτῶι ὁ Π. Ἡρακλεῖ τὰ τε ἄλλα προλέγων, ὥς ἕκαστον αὐτῶι τι συμβήσεσθαι ἐμέλλε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γηρυόνην στρατείαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λιγυστικοῦ πολέμου ... ἦξεις ... βέλη. (‘Aesch. in *P. Lyomenos*. For he has his *P.* prophesying to Heracles each of the various things that was to happen to him on his expedition to Geryones, and in particular about the Ligurian war: “You will come ... etc.”.)

**XIVc** Hyginus *Poet. astr.* 2.6 ... *Aeschylus autem in fabula quae inscribitur Π. Λυόμενος ... dicit ... quo tempore Hercules a Geryone boves abduxerit iter fecisse per Ligurum fines; quos conatos ab eo pecus abducere manus contulisse ...* (etc.) ... *Itaque Iovem similitudinem pugnantis inter sidera constituisse.* (‘But Aeschylus in *P. Unbound* says that, when Heracles took the cattle from Geryones, he travelled through the land of the Ligurians; they tried to take the cattle from him, and they fought ... Consequently, Zeus set a likeness of him fighting among the stars.’)

*P.*’s forecast to Heracles about his adventures on the Ligurian plain (near Marseilles, i.e. in the far west), provided an *aition* for the numerous round stones scattered about the region: when Heracles’ arrows gave out, Zeus sent a shower of these stones; also, it appears (xivc), an *aition* for the constellation of the Kneeling Heracles (commemorating his difficulties in the battle there).

**2-3** οὐ μάχης ... μέμνη ‘you will not fault their fighting ...’ (see LSJ s.v. μάχη II)

**7** The double resolution ( ∪ ∪ — ∪ — | — ∪ ∪ ∪ — | ∪ — ∪ — ) is very unusual (Introd. p. 25); suspicious too is ὑποσχών, where ὑπερσχών would give more natural sense (‘extending, supplying ...’).

The three testimonia as to Heracles’ destination are hard to reconcile, unless Geryones and the Hesperides are both goals of the same westward journey (see fr. xi n.). As for ‘the Caucasus’, see viii.28n., and xi, xiii, *Hypoth.* nn.

(It is possible that Aesch. fr. 402 N ... ἀφ’ οὗ Ῥήγιον κικλήσκεται, may have occurred in *P.*’s predictions to Heracles; cf. *Prom.* 734, 840.)

**XVa** (fr. 321a M) Philodemus, *De piet.* p. 41.4–15 Gomperz καὶ τὸν | [Προμη] θεὰ λύεσθαι | [φησιν] Αἰσχύλος δ[ι]τι τὸ λ] ὀγιον ἐμῇ [νυσε]ν τὸ | περὶ Θε | [τιδ]ος, ὥς χρε[ώ]ν εἶ [η] τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεν[ν]ηθέντα κρεῖτ | [τ] ω | κατασ[τῆν]αι | [τ] οὐ πατρός· [ᾔθεν|κ] αἰ θνητ[ῶ]ι συνοι|κι] οὖσιν αὐ[τ] ἦν. ('And Aesch. says that P. is released because he revealed the oracle concerning Thetis . . . So the gods settled her on a mortal husband . . .')

**XVb** Schol. *Prom.* 167 Herington . . . Ζεὺς ἐδίωκεν αὐτὴν (= τὴν Θέτιν) ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ ὅρει ὅπως συγγένηται αὐτῇ· ἐκωλύθη δὲ ὑπὸ Π. . . . ('Zeus was pursuing Thetis in the Caucasus to have intercourse with her; but he was prevented by P. . . .')

**XVc** Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* 6.42 . . . *vulturem Hercules interemit, Prometheum tamen liberare, ne offenderet patrem, timuit* . . . ('H. killed the vulture, but was afraid to free P., lest he offend his father.')

The order of events (killing of eagle, revelation of secret, release of P.) is not certain; but if xvb and c are based on *Lyomenos*,<sup>24</sup> Thetis may have arrived, in flight from Zeus (like Io in *Desmotes*, cf. 561–886n.), thus provoking the still-bound P. to divulge the secret before it is too late; whereupon Zeus gave orders for him to be released (by Hephaestus? or Heracles? or perhaps Athena, the other divine technician, cf. *Prom.* 7–8n., fr. 111b n.<sup>25</sup>). Or else Zeus' pursuit of Thetis may have been merely narrated (e.g. by Heracles or Ge).

A conflicting account is given by Hyginus (*Fab.* 54 = fr. 321b M): 'P. promised Zeus that he would forewarn him, if he freed him from his chains . . . So Thetis was given to Peleus in marriage . . . and Heracles was sent to kill the eagle . . . P. was released from the Caucasus after thirty (? thousand) years.' This cannot be reconciled with xvc, nor really with x, and the number of years is inappropriate (cf. *Prom.* 774n., App. p. 284); so it is probably not based on *Lyomenos*.

24. Neither specifies Aeschylus as source; but Servius' account does in other respects follow *Desmotes* and *Lyomenos* quite closely, and Zeus' pursuit of Thetis is not elsewhere usually connected to the Caucasus and P.'s revelation of the secret. N.b. too Lucian, *Dial. of gods* 5, where P. warns Zeus as he is on his way to Thetis ( . . . ἐφ' ὃ τι βαδίζεις νῦν . . . ).

25. On the Apulian vase mentioned above (n. 10), Athena stands by P. holding an olive crown.



Two passages in Apollodorus are often thought (in the light of *Prom.* 1026–9) to narrate further material from *Lyomenos*: (2.5.11) ‘Heracles provided Zeus with Chiron who, though immortal, was willing to die in place of (?) P. (ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ)’; (2.5.4) ‘Chiron wished to die, but could not, being immortal; but P. gave himself (?) to Zeus to become immortal in his place (ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ), and so Chiron died.’ The text of both passages is uncertain, and it is not clear in what sense Chiron and P. could ‘replace’ one another (cf. *Prom.* 1027 διάδοχος ... κόνων, and 1026–9, 1027–9nn.); it is in any case *Heracles*, rather than P., who should ‘become immortal’ in ‘exchange’ for the death of Chiron. Nor can we tell whether this exchange was negotiated in *Lyomenos*, or merely alluded to in *Desmotes*.

One further possible echo of the scene between Heracles and P. in *Lyomenos* should be mentioned. Antisthenes (pupil and friend of Socrates, and the first Cynic) wrote a *Heracles*, or *On Brawn and Brain*.<sup>26</sup> It appears that this work contained a dialogue between Heracles and P., with P. shown as the true philosopher, educating the crude man of action: ‘P. spoke to Heracles, “Your activity is contemptible, in that you occupy yourself with worldly things, and have neglected care for what is more important. You will be no complete man until you learn what is higher than man – and when you learn this, you learn about man too. But as long as you learn only earthly things, you are in error, like the wild beasts.”’<sup>27</sup> Obviously this fragment is designed to serve the philosopher’s argument: but it is not unlikely that, at least in outline, the dialogue may owe something to a poetical predecessor, as many of the Sophists’ (and Plato’s) stories did.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps in *Lyomenos* Heracles received some enlightenment from P. as to mankind’s proper conduct?

26. Diog. Laert. 6.18

27. This passage was quoted by the sophist Themistius (fourth century A.D.), in his work *περί ἀρετῆς*, with the introduction ‘I call on the wise Antisthenes ... He says ...’ The text of this passage of Themistius survives only in a Syrian version, first published by E. Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca* (1870, repr. Hildesheim 1968: German version, with comments, by J. Gildemeister and P. Bücheler in *Rh.M.* 27 (1872) 438ff., esp. 450–1); Syrian plus Latin version by R. Mach in *Themistii Orationes* III; edd. H. Schenkl, G. Downey and A. F. Norman (Teubner, Leipzig 1974).

28. E.g. Prodicus’ *Choice of Heracles* (B 2 DK = Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–34), cf. Hes. *WD* 286ff.; Gorgias’ *Helen* and *Palamedes* (B 11 and 11a DK), cf. the *Palamedes* plays of Aesch., Soph. and Eur.; and of course Protagoras’ story of Prometheus

**XVIa** (fr. 202 N = 334 M) Athen. 15.674d ... Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυομένῳ Π. σαφῶς φησιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Π. τὸν στέφανον περιτίθεμεν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀντίποινα τοῦ ἐκείνου δεσμοῦ ... ('Aesch. in *P. Lyomenos* clearly states that we place crowns on our heads in honour of P., as recompense for his bondage.')

**XVIb** Hyginus *Poet. astr.* 2.15 *Memoriae causa ex utraque re, hoc est lapide et ferro, digitum sibi vinciri iussit ... (Promethea) nonnulli etiam coronam habuisse dixerunt ut se victorem impune peccasse diceret.* ('In memory, he (P.) bade his finger be bound in both, i.e. stone and iron ... Some even said that P. wore a crown so that he could say that he had been victorious, and had sinned without being punished.')

Several ancient authors describe the origin of finger-rings, and of festive crowns, as going back to P.'s reconciliation with Zeus.<sup>29</sup> Some explain them as P.'s prizes of victory (so xvi b), i.e. recompense from Zeus (cf. *Prom.* 176–7 with n., and xvi a ἀντίποινα); others as symbols or memorials of P.'s bondage (rings of stone and iron; harmless binding on the head), indicating that his release is not absolute (so, e.g., Athen. 15.672–3 calls the crown a 'voluntary penalty' paid by P.). How the *aetion* was handled in *Lyomenos* we cannot tell.

It is likely that *Lyomenos* also included some reference to the establishment of a torch-race and festival in honour of P. (and of Hephaestus? cf. *Prom.* 14n.), i.e. the Attic *Promethia*: it may even have been represented on stage in the final scene (cf. the end of Aesch. *Eum.*).<sup>30</sup> It is likely too that some mention was made of the introduction of Justice and the other civic virtues into human societies, as in Protagoras' account (Plato, *Prot.* 322c; cf. too Aristoph. *Birds* 1539ff., and Aesch. fr. 381 N? But n.b. fr. xii. 1–2). Zeus' agent here might be Hermes, or perhaps even Deucalion,

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(continued)

(Intro. pp. 3–4). In later sophists, the practice continued: but the versions of the Prometheus story in Lucian (*Prometheus*, and *Dialogues of the gods* 5: *P. and Zeus*) and Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 8.33, perhaps also derived in part from Antisthenes) add nothing to our knowledge of *P. Lyomenos*. For further refs. to later mentions of P. in Greek and Latin literature, see Kraus, *RE s.v.* 681ff.

29. See Apollod. 2.5.11, with Frazer's n.

30. Many scholars have seen this as the main subject of *Pyrrhophros* (as third play of the trilogy); see above, p. 283 n. 6.

son of P. (in the light of Ap. Rhod. 3.1086–9 ... δς πρῶτος ποιήσε πόλεις καὶ ἔδειματο νηοὺς | ἀθανάτοις, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύσεν: and cf. Lucian, *Prom.* 14). Thus the trilogy will have ended with the joyful reinstatement of the hero, and a demonstration that Zeus' rule, while necessarily harsh and difficult to understand at times, is not without reason or purpose. But all this remains of course highly speculative.

**XVII** (fr. 204 N = 335 M) Hesych. ε 1094 *s.v.* 'εἰσαφάσματα'· εἰσπτήματα, ἀπὸ τοῦ 'εἰσαφιέναι'· ἢ σπαράγματα· Αἰσχύλος Π. Λυομένωι. (See fr. VIII. 11–12n.)

**XVIII** (fr. 203 N = 331 M) Pausan. Attic. fr. 67 (*apud* Eustath. on Hom. *Il.* 5.738) 'ἀρειθύσανοι'· Ἄρεος θύσανοι, οἰονεὶ ἀποσχίσματα· παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Π. Λυομένωι.

The 'tassels of Ares' are said by Hesychius to be the Heniochi (*s.v.* = α 7109, cf. α 7191), a warlike tribe living north of the Pontus. If so, presumably they were mentioned either in the Titans' 'catalogue' (cf. v–vii and vii n.) or in P.'s predictions to Heracles.

**XIX** (fr. 194 N = 336 M) Plut. *De fortuna* 98c (cf. 964f; also Porphy. *De abstin.* 3.18) ... νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως περίεσμεν αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν θηρίων) καὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Π., τοῦτέστιν ὁ λογισμός, αἴτιος

ἵππων ὄνων τ' ὀχεῖα καὶ ταύρων γονὰς

δοῦς ἀντίδουλα καὶ κόνων ἐκδέκτορα', κατ' Αἰσχύλον.

ἀντίδουλα Plut. 964f, Porph.: ἀντίδωρα Plut. 98c.

('But as it is, our superiority and power over the animals do not exist spontaneously or by chance, but it is P., i.e. reason, who is responsible, "... Giving horse- and ass-stallions, and bulls' offspring, to work as slaves and take on labours", as Aesch. says.')

These lines almost duplicate *Prom.* 462–6 (esp. δουλεύοντα ~ ἀντίδουλα, διάδοχοι μοχθημάτων ~ κόνων ἐκδέκτορα). Neither speaker nor context (nor even title of the play, *Lyomenos*, *Pyrrhophoros*, or *Pyrrhaeus*) is specified, though the subject of δοῦς is obviously P.

**XX** (fr. 337 M) Anon. Metr. P. Oxy. 220.11.1–6 ... ὁποῖον (sc. μέτρον) ἐν τῷ Π. τίθησι πάλιν Αἰσχύλος οὕτως, '<ἐρίδ>ων δυσκελάδων'.

(‘... the same kind of metre that Aesch. uses again in the *Prometheus*, as follows: (υ υ — — υ υ —) “of ill-sounding strife(?)”.’)

**XXI** (fr. 189 N = 338 M) Antiatticist p. 116.7 Bekker: ‘Χέρσα’ τὰ μὴ γεωργούμενα· Αἰσχύλος Προμηθεΐ.

Once again, in neither xx nor xxi are we told which *Prometheus* play is meant, nor speaker or context.

**XXII** (fr. 188 N = 339 M) Schol. Aristides, *Pro Quattuor* p. 501.16 Dindorf: ... καὶ Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Π. Δεσμώτηι,

πολλοῖς γάρ ἐστι κέρδος ἡ σιγὴ βροτῶν .

(‘And Aesch. says in *P. Desmotes*, “For many mortals, silence is an advantage.”’)

The line, quoted from ‘*P. Desmotes*’, is usually assigned to *Lyomenos*, but may belong to *Pyrrhoros*, where reference to ‘mortals’ might be more in place.

**XXIII** (fr. 198 N = 328 M) Strabo 7.3.7: ... καὶ Αἰσχύλος δ’ ἐμφαίνει ... φήσας περὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν,

ἀλλ’ ἱππάκης βρωτῆρες εὐνομοὶ Σκύθαι ...

(‘And Aesch. shows ... when he says about the Scythians, “But the law-abiding Scythians, eaters of mares’ milk ...”’)

This line, from an unnamed play, is usually assigned to *Lyomenos*, on the strength of the connection between ‘Eaters of mares’ milk’ and Hom. *Il.* 13.5–6, where ‘Mare-milkers’ and ‘law-abiding Abii’ are mentioned together (see fr. xii with n.); but cf. too Hdt. 1.216, Hes. fr. 150.15 M–W, Hippocr. *De aer.* 18, etc.

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### Abbreviations

- ABV** J.D. Beazley, *Attic black-figure vase-painters* (Oxford 1956)  
**ARV** J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters* (2nd ed., Oxford 1963)  
**DK** H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (5th ed., revised by W. Kranz, 1934)  
**FGH** F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin 1923-)  
**GMT** W. W. Goodwin, *Greek moods and tenses* (Boston 1900)  
**GP** J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles* (2nd ed., Oxford 1954)  
**IG** *Inscriptiones Graecae* (ed. minor, Berlin 1924- )  
**LSJ** *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, revised by H. S. Jones (9th ed., Oxford 1940)  
**PMG** *Poetae melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1962)  
**RE** Paulys, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (new ed., Stuttgart 1893-1980)  
**SLG** *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford 1974)  
**TrGF** *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I, ed. B. Snell (Göttingen 1971).

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The myth of fire stolen from the gods appears in many pre-industrial societies. In Greek culture Prometheus the fire-stealer figures prominently in the poems of Hesiod, but in *Prometheus Bound* Hesiod's morality tale has been transformed into a drama of tragic tone and proportions. In the introduction to this edition Mark Griffith examines how the dramatist has achieved this transformation, looking at the play from all angles – plot and characters, dramatic technique, style and metre. He includes a short section on the production of the play and on the questions of authenticity and date. The commentary guides the reader through problems of language, metre and content. An important feature of this volume is the appendix, which gathers together the existing fragments of the other two plays in the supposed Prometheus trilogy, quoting them in full in the original language and in translation, with short accompanying commentary.

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